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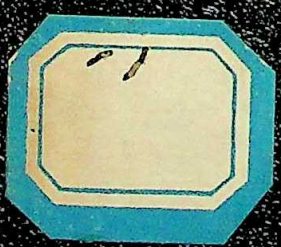

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Folk Themes in Sculptures

BY

K. V. RAMAN

The sculptural panels that crowd the columns of the pavilions and corridors of our temples are veritable treasures of ancient folk–art and movements. The temple wall space afforded a vast convass for the ancient sculptors to depict not only figures of religious and mythological themes, but also those of their contemporary scenes. In rendering the religious themes, the sculptor's choice tended to become somewhat limited, as he had to conform to certain conventional stories and episodes; but not so in the depiction of non–religious themes, when he could show his individual choice and taste. Yet, it took a long time for the secular and folk themes to gain their proper place in the sculpture scheme. In the sculptures of the early periods such as the Pallava or the Chola, purely non–religious themes were extremely few and, even when present, were only incidental to the portrayal of puranic themes. The only exceptions were probably the few royal portrait figures at Mahābalipuram, the historical sculptures depicting contemporary political scenes at Vaikuṇḍaperumāḷ temple at Kāñci, the dance poses at the Great temple at Thañjāvūr, etc. By and large, it was the sculptures depicting Gods and Goddesses, the *parivāradēvatas* (subsidiary deities) of the puranic episodes that dominated the entire plastic scheme of the early temples. Within this scheme, the sculptor tried to show his ingenuity and impart his originality into his creations. In the famous scene of the "Descent of the Ganges" at Mahabalipuram, we can clearly see the Pallava Sculptors' unbounded delight in portraying contemporary life scenes, such as the ṛṣis taking bath in the river and performing their customary ablutions and the forest scenes like the majestic march of elephants, the pranks of the monkeys etc. Even here, the entire depiction pulsates with religious and spiritual sentiment, such as to make even the cat and rat stand and perform penance on the river bank! Purely secular themes were, as far as possible, avoided. Even in the succeeding Chola

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phase, we hardly come across any elaborate rendering of non-religious themes. The depiction of the conventional subjects such as the *mithunas* (erotics) or dance poses which had to be interspersed with the other sculptures alone can be called secular. The themes were all religion-oriented, though there was considerable scope for individuality in the composition and narration.

But it was during the Vijayanagar times, i.e. in 15th and 16th centuries, we see emergence of a new and dynamic spirit in the sculptural scheme in the temple. As in architecture, so in sculptures, we see the Vijayanagar artistes introducing new forms and popular themes, besides continuing and embellishing the older and orthodox ones. During this period, temple-art and architecture became a wide-spread and popular movement. The temple precincts grew in size, and more enclosures (*prākārā*) maṇḍapas and gōpuras were added. Festivals also increased in number and pomp and they attracted larger and larger crowds. In short, the temples became symbols of popular movement and this was truly reflected in the sculptural art as well.

We see now the sculptors making bold departure from convention and introducing many popular folk-themes in their art. The artists came down from the ivory tower and handled secular themes too to entertain and inspire the common folk. At Hampi, we see the graphic portrayal of battle scenes perhaps never attempted before by our artists. We also see representation of Navarātri festivals, *tulābhāra* festivals, etc. which were celebrated with great pomp and show. A galaxy of soldiers and warriors sculptured with a variety of gorgeous dress, some riding on horse, some engaged in fierce combat and some wearing European dress and carrying muskets, was meant to display the might and power of the Vijayanagar empire.

The Vijayanagar maṇḍapas also have sculptures of clowns, court-jesters, folk-dancers, gypsies, street-dancers, acrobatic scenes and even curious headed animals. In the Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapa in Śrī Varadarājaswāmi Temple at Kāñci, we have an interesting array of such sculptures. There is the typical buffoon with his potbelly, snub nose and wide mouth in an uncouth dance pose. His cross belt, wristlet, armlets and the stylish head-gear would show that he was a court jester—an important member of the

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royal entourage. There are two street-dancers, possibly gypsies, having two small sticks or *kōlāṭṭams* to play with one another. Another dancing figure is having a drum (*jalara*) held close to his chest and playing on it. He has a string of a small bell tied to his ankles to give suitable sounds when he is engaged in foot-work. Another favourite depiction in the Vijayanagar and the Nāyak sculptures was the hunter and his spouse, Vēḍan and Kuṟaṭṭy. Here Kuṟaṭṭy is wearing a skirt instead of a saree and has an elaborate coiffure. Her little baby is held close to her breasts in the typical fashion in which it is tied even to-day by the gypsies. She holds a palm-leaf basket on her left hand. This class of people used to make and sell such baskets. Similar fine depictions of the rural folk like, the Vēḍan and Kuṟaṭṭy are available in Nayak temples at Madurai, Kriṣṇapuram and Śrīvilliputtūr. Funny and interesting acrobatic scenes were also sculptured, as for example six figures closely intertwined to form a circle and performing a feat as if in a circus.

The boldness of the Vijayanagar artistes is also seen in their handling of provocative subjects like the erotic scenes. The restrained suggestiveness of the earlier periods is no longer observed; but instead we see quite a galore of the intimate love scenes, of amorous couples, royal courtesans etc. This type of sculptures increases both in number and sensuousness and they can be found in almost all the Vijayanagar maṇḍapas of the 16th and 17th centuries.

On the whole, we see the sculptural art entering a new and provocative phase under Vijayanagar. A refreshing liveliness and optimism seem to run through the products of the school. The sense of freedom, enjoyed under the protective wings of the enlightened and spirited kings, is seen reflected in the handling of sculptures, both religious and secular. In the former, we see them treating the puranic themes in an unusually elaborate and ornate manner. The entire gamut of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata and other puranic themes are treated in a lucid and graphic array. The intention was to convey the message of the purāṇas to the uneducated through visual representation. At the same time, the non-religious themes are delightfully portrayed to amuse as well as ennoble people. The Vijayanagar sculpture-themes did

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not cater to the pious and devoted alone, but they served to attract the common-folk and the masses. The art was used as a visual medium of mass entertainment and education. Any such movement which attempts at popularisation of an idea or art has within it the danger of vulgarisation also. The Vijayanagar artistes knew this well and took care to place the provocative subject to the obscure corners. But they did not fight shy to give the due place to popular subjects in the art scheme. In their productions, we are able to discern a happy and joyous outlook which were part of the social psychology of the times. They did not shun the earthly life. They knew well that indifference to this life and world would lead to the subjugation of their land and loss of all that they held sacred. Too much of other-worldliness would cost them their independence. This tendency impelled them to make art more broad-based, so as to cover wider fields. For this, they had to break some of the conventional fetters. Art was largely the handmaid of religion earlier. The Vijayanagar artistes showed that within the ambit of the temple precincts secular themes could also be used successfully. Taking the temple itself as a miniature world, they made it truly representative of the infinite variety of secular life therein. The clown and the courtesan were as much part of this life, as the crowned king and the plucky horsemen. Their art was at once symbolic and realistic-symbolic for religious iconography and realistic in portraying the contemporary life and manners. In fact, the Vijayanagar sculptures afford ample scope for a study of the dress, costumes and manners and amusements of different strata of society. The artistes took pride in depicting the folk art of their unsophisticated brethren. The presence of the clown and the street jester would show how much they tried to accommodate in their art themes, both the sublime and the ridiculous.

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Vaisnava Concepts in Early Tamil Nadu

BY

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI

The present survey of the development of Vaiṣṇava iconographic concepts in Tamiḻ Nāḍu before 600 A.D., is based mainly on a study of the earliest known stratum of Tamil literature, the Sangam works, usually assigned to the first three centuries of the Christian era. It can at best be only a partial and incomplete review due to the absence of sculptural remains and epigraphic records of the period before the rise of the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the early Pāṇḍyas of Madurai in the latter half of the 6th century A.D.[1]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	—	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.
DHI	—	Development of Hindu Iconography.
IHQ	—	Indian Historical Quarterly.
JBHS	—	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
JISOA	—	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
Aham	—	Ahanānūṟu
Kali	—	Kalittogai
Maṇi	—	Maṇimēkalai
Nāṉmaṇi	—	Nāṉmaṇikkaḍigai
Padiṟṟu		Padiṟṟuppattu
Perumbāṇ	—	Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai
Puṟan	—	Puṟanāṉūṟu
Śilap	—	Śilappadikāram
Tol	—	Tolkāppiyam

1. The view that there are no monumental remains in the Tamiḻ Nāḍu before the 6th-7th century A.D. has been recently questioned and some cave temples of the Pāṇḍya country, especially the Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi, are ascribed to an earlier period—4th-5th century A.D. Barring the early Brāhmī inscriptions in Tamil of the period from about the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. and the still later Tirunātharkuṉṟu epitaph, and the few early inscriptions discovered in the rock at Tirucirāpaḷḷi, there are no epigraphic records in Tamiḻ Nāḍu prior to the close of the 6th Century A.D.

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From a survey of the Śangam literature in its present form, it appears that religion played a dominant role and influenced the thoughts and ideas of the people. But it did not, however, seriously affect the mundane affairs of life which the Tamils treated as the normal course. They evinced a generally optimistic and happy outlook upon life. On such a happy material framework certain ideas of the Prākṛt and Sanskṛt cultures came to be superimposed, while others were completely absorbed by the mingling of identities of the Tamil deities with the Vedic Gods. The foremost example of such a fusion is the identification of the Vedic Subrahmaṇya or Kārtikēya with the Tamil Muruga. The Tamils seem to have evolved an interesting pattern of worship in which, besides the totemistic and animistic beliefs, each of the five geographical divisions mentioned in the literature of the period, came to be associated with a particular God. If Śēyōṉ (Muruga) was the God of the hilly regions (*Kuṟiñji*), Māyōṉ (Viṣṇu–Kṛṣṇa) was the deity *par excellence* of the *Mullai* or forest region. The name Māyōṉ signifies the black one (*Mā*— black) just as Śēyōṉ means the red one. It is not difficult to understand how the pastoral character of the people of the *Mullai* region adopted the bucolic God Kṛṣṇa. The cowherds, therefore, worshipped Māl or Māyoṉ who would bestow on them milch cows, which represented their wealth.

The belief that God resided in the trees was very common among the early Tamils. Trees were totems and their association with particular Gods seems to be the basis of the later widespread practice of setting up a particular *sthala vṛkṣa* in the temple. e.g. *kaḍambu* associated with Muruga, *Kāyāmpū* with Tirumāl, *koṉṟai* and *vilvam* with Śiva.

The origins of many of the beliefs and customs of the Tamils are lost in antiquity but the picture presented in the early centuries of the Christian era is one of an odd mixture of indigenous Gods, animistic beliefs and ecstatic ritualistic dances with the incoming Sanskṛtic ideas of Godhead and their varieties of forms and names. It was a fusion between all that survived of ancient indigenous practices and exotic ideologies — Vedic, Buddhist and Jain — that caught the imagination of the

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Tamils.[2] But there was harmony in spite of differences in faiths or beliefs. Religion altogether exercised only a milder influence over the life and thought of the early Tamils than in later times. There was neither the ritualistic extravagance nor the metaphysical speculation which characterised the religious history of the succeeding periods.

The chief Gods who were worshipped in the Śangam age were Tirumāl (Viṣṇu), the three-eyed God (Śiva), Muruga and Vāliyōṉ (Balarāma). Indra was equally popular. Sūrya (Sun) and Varuṇa (rain God) were also worshipped. But there was perfect accord among the votaries of the various deities and sectarian rivalry was totally absent, as evidenced by the fact that members of the same family professed different faiths and yet lived amicably under one roof.

An examination of the body of the Sangam literature reveals that Viṣṇu was already accepted by a large section of the early Tamils as one of the supreme Gods. A considerable number of verses in the Sangam classics, some of them being invocations, are addressed to Viṣṇu as the chief deity. References are also made to him and his attributes in descriptions of a comparative nature. Viṣṇu was known under a variety of names such as Mālor Deivamāl, Māyōn and Neḍiyōn. The term Viṇḍu occurs in the *Puṟanānūṟu*,[3] one of the Sangam anthologies, and it appears to be the earliest known Tamil form of the name, Viṣṇu. The process of the identification of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa had taken place in North India even before the beginning of the Christian era[4] and the Sangam works not only confirm this view but also clearly indicate that it is in this form that the cult of Viṣṇu had spread in the Tamil country by the time of the composition of the Sangam classics. Hence the names Māyōṉ, Neḍiyōṉ and Māl occur in these works for denoting both Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. The popularity of the Kṛṣṇa legends, the rendering of the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil and the fact that the stories associated with Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa appear casually together in the

2. See N. Subrahmanian, *Śangm Polity*, p. 349.
3. V. 391, L. 2.
4. As early as the age of Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) if not earlier.

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descriptions of the achievements of the same God, suggest a considerable antiquity for the period of the spread of these ideas in Tamiḻ Nāḍu. After a long process of assimilation the concepts about him get some shape and permanence in the literature of the Sangam age.

A brief account of the history of the Vaiṣṇava concepts of the period would, in the first instance, be useful as an index of the stages by which the iconography of Viṣṇu developed. Secondly, it would also help to fix, more or less definitely the relative chronological position of the Sangam anthologies, the *Padineṇkīḻkanakku* works and the two epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimēkalai,* all of which throw light on the socio-religious conditions of Tamiḻ Nāḍu in the early centuries of the Christian era. A broad division of these works into two groups based on such description is possible and also necessary.

Though there are different opinions prevailing over the accurate chronology of the Sangam works, a fairly workable list has been arrived at, giving, if not the precise dates of individual pieces, at least the order of succession of the components of this ancient bulk. While tracing down the divine concepts or iconographic development, this must be borne in mind, and the entire Sangam literature cannot be treated as a single piece. For instance, the *Paripāḍal* seems to be trailing a long way behind the *Ahanānūru,* the latter being closer to the *Puṟanānuru* collection and other parts of the *Eṭṭuttōgai.* The *Pattuppāṭṭu* or the Ten Idylls may also be grouped with this earlier stratum, whereas the *Paripāḍal* falls into a later group to which the two epics may be said to belong. The *Padineṇkīḻkaṇakku* works may be placed between these two groups. This chronological basis in treating the early literature is essential, for, it is only with the aid of this division that the origin, development and proliferation of iconographic concepts can be brought out. Otherwise, a pattern of iconographic development will be the last to emerge from a mass of literary evidences.

Another important factor demands careful consideration for study of Iconography, i.e. evidence of iconic representations. Considering the nature of the gamut of our study, we have to look mainly for references to such representations in the literature of

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this period. While the reference to divine concepts are abundant, they must be taken merely as a pointer to the possible prevalence of representations. Without encroaching therefore on the realm of religious history, the significance of the legends and stories of the faith, which have actually given rise to the concepts and representations of the forms, may be taken into consideration.

While discussing the iconographic concepts of this period, it is found necessary to adopt the standard iconographic terminology in order to name, define or differentiate various features relating to them. So here, the standard as it now prevails is adopted; and while such definition or classification is attempted in connection with earlier features, it is done merely for the sake of convenience and not because these terms connote the recognised usage in the period under study.

The three forms of Viṣṇu, *sthānaka, āsana* and *śayana*, appear to be well-known. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as the Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi heroes were worshipped in this period both independently and together. The latter, especially, was one of the chief deities of the Vaiṣṇava pantheon and was recognised both as the *vyūha* Samkaraṣaṇa and the *vibhava* or *avatāra* Balarāma. His independent status as the first of the Vṛṣṇi heroes is also indicated by the individual shrines mentioned for him. Among the other *vyūhas*, Pradyumna, as Kāmadeva or the God of Love, dominated the entire life of the people, as one of the two main themes of most of the Sangam classics is love. As the Vṛṣṇi hero, he is mentioned as the son of Kṛṣṇa and the elder brother of Sāma (Sāmba). Sāma himself, is referred to along with Kāma, though not independently. Aniruddha is known only to the *Paripāḍal* and the *Śilappadikāram*.[5] These two works together with the *Maṇimēkalai* may be said to represent a later and well-developed stage in the evolution of the early Vaiṣṇava pantheon, for, the most important ideas connected with the *Bhāgavata* cult, the exaltation of the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the *avatāra* concepts and also the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata* religion are found crystallised and developed systematically in these works, particularly in the *Paripāḍal* and the *Śilappadikāram*.

5. The *Śilappadikāram* concerns itself in various ways with the exaltation of Nārāyaṇa—Viṣṇu worship. The author of the work, Iḷangōvaḍigaḷ is said to be a Cēra Prince and a brother of Senguṭṭuvan, the Cēra king,

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The *Maṇimekalai,* being a Buddhist work, makes only incidental references to the Vaiṣṇava religion and its iconographic concepts. It would not be wrong to assume that together they belong to the close of the period i.e. the 5th–6th centuries A.D. — a date which is acceptable especially for the *Śilappadikāram* — both from the linguistic point of view and on the basis of the ideas expressed in them. In fact, a much later date than the 3rd century A.D. for the *Śilappadikāram* is favoured by some scholars on subject.[5a]

Among the *vibhavas* or *avatāras* the most popular were those of *Vāmana–Trivikrama,* Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the beginning, while the *Varāha,* Kūrma and Narasimha *avatāras* are described only in the later group of works viz., *Paripāḍal,* and *Śilappadikāram.* Various episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are known to the earlier group of works but the definite inclusion of Rāma in the *avatāra* forms of Viṣṇu is known only to the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.*[6] Similarly, Paraśurāma is known to a number of these works both of the earlier and later groups but nowhere do we find a clear indication of his inclusion in the *avatāra* fold. The *avatāra* concept which is indicated for the first time in the *Bhagavad Gīta,* evolved well after the beginning of the Christian era; and not till after the establishment of the power of the imperial Guptas in the North was this concept given its final shape. The traditionally accepted ten *avatāras* appear to have been evolved in a definite form only in about the 4th or 5th century A.D. in North India, whence they must have spread to the South not earlier than the beginning of the Pallava supremacy in the Tamil Nāḍu, i.e. the close of the 6th century A.D.

It may be added here that the *Paripāḍal* refers to a few more aspects of Viṣṇu as, for example, the Mohini form which he assumed for distributing the *amṛta* among the *dēvas* and the *Viśvarūpa*

who is believed to have instituted the cult of Kaṇṇagi. Senguṭṭuvan is assigned to the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.

5a. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature,* pp. 147-51.

6. Curiously enough, the *Paripāḍal* makes no reference either to the Rāmāvatāra or Parasurāmāvatāra. But of this one cannot be too sure because, of the eight verses addressed to Viṣṇu in the *Paripāḍal* only six have been preserved in their entirety.

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or *Virāṭapuruṣa* form, which he took on the request of Arjuna, besides mentioning in general that Viṣṇu assumed a multiplicity of forms for discharging the function of protecting the world, the good from the evil and also endowed himself with multiple hands under these forms.[7]

Mention must also be made of the cult of Nappiṉṉai (Piṉṉai) which had a distinct popularity in the Tamil country in this period, evidence of which is found in some of the *Kīḻkaṇakku* works and more clearly in the *Śilappadikāram*. The churning of the ocean of milk and the Govardhana episode are other important legends which were popular in this period.

The above brief survey of the development of various ideas and stories about Viṣṇu during the period provides the necessary background for a more detailed study of the descriptions of the forms and representations, if any, indicated therein.

Descriptions of Viṣṇu, his complexion and attributes, are found in a number of verses. Viṣṇu is described as dark complexioned like the cloud, the blue gem, the sea, the *Kāyāmpū* (flower of *kāyā* — Memecylon malabaricum) and the *añjana* (collyrium).[8] He is said to have broad chest and shoulders and is often compared to a hill or mountain in stature.[9] The terms *Neḍiyōṉ* and *Neḍuvēḷ* are significant as emphasising the tall figure of the God. Māl means great and Tirumāl was the 'sacred, great one.'

Among his weapons the *nēmi* or *tigiri* (Cakra or Wheel) is the most important one and hence his epithets Nēmiyāṉ and Tigiriyāṉ.[10] The *cakra* is described as having shining rays and shedding golden lusture. It is carried by Viṣṇu in his right hand.[11]

7. V. 3: ll. 33-46.

8. *Tol. Śol.* vv. 151 & 429; *Kali.* v. 104, 1.38; *Aham.* v. 360, 1.6; *Puṟam.* v. 56, 1.5; v. 58, 1.15; v. 174, 1.5; *Perumbān.* 1.30; *Kār Nāṟpadu*, v. 1, 1.1; *Trikaḍugam, Kāppu; Paripāḍal*, v. 1, ll.7 & 59; *Śilap.*, X, 1.41. etc.

9. *Kali.* v. 108, 1.55—"*malaiyodu mārbamainda śelvan*"; Irunkuṟṟam or Tirumāliruñcōlaimalai near Madurai is described as representing Viṣṇu himself. *Paripāḍal* v. 15.

10. *Kali.* v. 104, ll.9, 78. '*Tolkadir Tigiriyān; Aham*, v. 175, 1.15, *nēr kadir niraitta nēmiyān-celvan pōraḍangagalam porundiya tār pōḷ; Paḍiṟṟuppattu*, v. 31, l. 9, *Naṟṟinai, invocation—"Tidara vilangiya tigiriyōṉē'*.

11. *Manimēkalai*, XIII, 1.57—"*Poṉṉaṇi nēmi valankoḷ cakkarakkai*"; *Paripāḍal*, v. 1, ll. 49-54.

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The *śankha* (*Valampuri* or conch) is the other important attribute held in the left hand.[12] These two attributes are mentioned in all the works and the description of Viṣṇu holding both the attributes in his lotus-like hands, is found in the *Śilappadikāram*.[13] Viṣṇu is said to wear a long garland of *tula* (*tuḷāi*),[14] to which red *veṭci* flowers are also added.[15] The garland is also described as a golden one.[16] Tiru or Śrī was believed to reside in his chest[17] and hence the mark of Śrīvatsa is represented on his chest. The blue gem called *Kaustubha* also decorated his chest.[18] Viṣṇu or Māyōṉ was the god of the *Mullai* (pastoral) region, one of the five divisions of the land.[19] He is said to wear a golden silk cloth (*pītāmbara*).[20]

Besides the reference to Viṣṇu's complexion and attributes, mention is also made in the Sangam works, of the Garuḍa as the emblem on Viṣṇu's flag[21] and also his *ūrti* or *vāhana* (vehicle).[22]

The *Paripādal*, however, assigns to Viṣṇu other banners with the palm, ploughshare and elephant emblems, emphasising at the same time the importance of the Garuḍa flag.

Apart from the definite statements regarding the form of Viṣṇu and his attributes, these works abound in metaphorical descriptions of the God. The invocatory verse in the *Nāṉmaṇikkaḍigai* contains an interesting description of Māl, wherein the moon is compared to his face, lotuses to his eyes, and the shining rays of the sun to his *cakra*. Similar comparisons are also found

12. *Mullaippāṭṭu*, 11. 1-2; *Paripāḍal*, v. 3, l. 88 etc.
13. *Śilap.*, XI, ll. 47-48.
14. *Aham*, v. 175, l. 15; *Paḍiṟṟu*, v.. 31, ll. 8-9—"... *tirunēmi-ragalattuk kaṉ poru tigirik-kamaḻ kuraṟṟuḷā avalankaṟ śelvaṉ śevaḍi paravi*".
15. *Paripāḍal*, v. 4, ll. 58-64.
16. *Maduraikkāñci*, ll. 590-91—"*polandār māyōṉ*".
17. *Kali.*, v. 104, l. 10; *Paḍiṟṟu.*, v. 31 l. 8; *Paripāḍal*, v. 1, l. 3; *Murugaṟṟppaḍai*, l. 104 etc.
18. *Paripadal*, v. 1, l. 9.
19. '*Māyōṉ Mēya Kāḍuṟai Ulagamum*'—*Tol.*, *Poruḷ*, 5; The *Mullaippāṭṭu*, one of the Ten Tns (*Pattuppāṭṭu*) is addressed to Viṣṇu.
20. *Śilap.* XI, l. 50—"*polampū vāḍaiyiṟ polindu toṉṟiya*".
21. *Murugāṟṟupaḍai*, ll. 150-51; *Paripāḍal*, v. 1, l. 57. v. 4: ll-36-48; *Śilap.* XI, l. 136; XIV, l. 8—"*Uvaṇaccēvaluyarttōṉ*".
22. *Paḻamoḻi*: v. 178, ll. 2-3.

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in other works, especially with regard to his eyes and the *cakra*.[23] The lotus-eyed Viṣṇu or Puṇḍarīkākṣa is an oft-repeated epithet of the God. Such metaphorical descriptions underlie the style of representation of many icons, as in the case of the image of the Buddha in the Gupta period, in which the loti-form eyes are carved like lotus petals. In the painting remains of later periods even the colour of the body and the dress, as described in contemporary literature, are faithfully represented. Sculptures in wood, stone and metal, on the other hand, correspond as closely as possible to the textual descriptions. Invariably, the relief work in wood and stone was also covered with stucco and painted over, evidently with the idea of giving true shape to the mental forms. Ideas have always been translated into actual representations as faithfully as the medium permitted. In the earliest surviving monuments of the Pallava period, the principal object of worship was a painting on the wall or one fixed to the wall, or picked out or moulded in stucco and painted, or of wood, carved and appropriately painted.[24]

Three more weapons associated with Viṣṇu are mentioned in the *Paripāḍal*, viz., the *Gada*, *Khaḍga* and *Sārnga*.[25] It is significant that the five weapons of Viṣṇu formed the emblems or motifs used in the ornament called the *aimpadaittāli* worn by children in Tamiḻ Nāḍu in this period.[26]

Iconic representations of Viṣṇu in the three well-known forms — *sthānaka* (standing), *āsana* (seated) and *śayana* (reclining) — appear to have been common in this period. There are evidences in the Sangam works pointing to the existence of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu[27] and to the other deities like Balarāma, Muruga and Kāma. In the *Nāladiyār* a specific reference is made to the above three forms of Viṣṇu as "*Niṉṟrān, irundān kiḍandāṉ tan kēḷ*

23. *Kuṟaḷ*, 1103—"*Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ*"; *Nāladiyār*, 373-2; *Śenganmāl* etc.

24. K. R. Srinivasan, *Some Aspects of Religion as revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South*, p. 10.

25. v. 15, l. 55—in which besides the *Valampuri* (*Śankha*) and *nēmi* (*cakra*), the *Śilai-ambu* (*bow and arrow—śārnga*), *Pārāvaḷai*, *Vāḷ* (sword-*khaḍga*), *taṇḍu* (*gada*) and *nāñjil* (ploughshare-*hala*) are also mentioned. Of these the *nāñjil* and *taṇḍu* are said to be the attributes sacred to Balarāma and the rest are those of Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva).

26. *Puṟam.*, 77-71; *Aham.*, 54; *Maṇi.*, III, 137-8; VIII, 56-7.

27. *Śilap.* v. 172; "*Nīlamēṉi Neḍiyōṉ Kōyilum*".

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aiaraccenṟāṉ".[28] Though the first two forms are not individually described, references to them are implied in the verses addressed to Viṣṇu residing in the sacred hills of Vēngaḍam and Irunkuṉṟam. The *Śilappaaikaram* describes the standing form of Viṣṇu in Vēngaḍam, where Neḍiyoṉ stood with the *saṅkha, cakra* and lotus in his hands, wearing a golden dress and a long garland.[29] Similarly, references to the *sayana* form are clear viz. the God lying on the serpent couch in the ocean.[30] The description in the *Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai* is particularly important, as it contains a reference to the reclining form of Viṣṇu at Tiruvehkā, which is the same as the Yathōktakāri Viṣṇu in a temple at Kāñci. In the hymns of the later Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs this temple figures as an ancient and well-known sacred shrine of Viṣṇu. The legend behind its origin is that at the request of Brahma, whose sacrifice was obstructed by his refractory consort, Sarasvati, who had taken the form of a stream in high floods (Vehkā or Vegavatī), God Viṣṇu put his presumtuous daughter-in-law to shame and brought her to her senses by lying naked as a dam across the river's course. This myth is however of late origin.[31]

The *Śayana* forms of Viṣṇu in Śrīrangam and also at Tiruvananṭapuram are known to the *Śilappadikāram*. In the former, the God is described as reclining on the serpent couch of Ādisēṣa, of the thousand heads.[32] The latter is referred to as "*Āḍagamaḍattaṟituyilamaarndōṉ*" in the same work.[33] The antiquity of these three sacred shrines is established by the above references.

The legend behind the concept of Viṣṇu lying on the serpent couch in the sea is also alluded to in the *Paḷamoli Nanuru*[34] in which Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who came with evil intentions against

28. v. 39.

29. XI, ll. 41-51, "*Śeṅgaṇeḍiyōniṉṟa Vaṇṇamum*".

30. *Kali.* v. 105, l. 72; *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai,* ll. 371-3, "*Pāmbaṇaippaḷḷiyamarndōṉ*".

31. The God is known as Śoṇṇavaṇṇam-śeyda-Perumāl or "Yathōktakāri". *Nālāyiradivya-prabandham, Tiruccanda,* 63; *Periya Tirumoḻi,* X—1-7.

32. XI, ll. 35-40. The place is called 'Turutti' here; XXX, 1-51 (here called *Āḍagamāḍattaravaṇai kiḍandōṉ*).

33. XXVI, l. 62. According to Arumpadavuraiyāśiriyar it represents Iravipuram.

34. v. 302—*Vāṭṭiṟalāṉai vaḷattāargaḷ aññāṉṟu vīṭṭiya śeṉṟār vīḻangoḷi*".

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Viṣṇu are said to have been converted on seeing the incomparable form of Viṣṇu lying on the serpent couch. It is also stated here that Viṣṇu is the possessor of a sword, a reference probably to the *Nāntagam*. Another interesting detail connected with the *śayana* form of Viṣṇu is the appearance of Brahma on the lotus issuing from the navel of Viṣṇu and this is mentioned in the *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*.[35] Brahma, therefore, was the son of Viṣṇu.[36]

As mentioned earlier, the early origin of some of the sacred shrines of Viṣṇu in Tamiḻ Nāḍu is indicated by the references quoted above. It is, however, difficult to date precisely the oldest shrines dedicated to Viṣṇu. The use of wood and stucco in the making of images consecrated in the inner-most sanctuaries must have been quite common in the pre-Pallava period.[37] The paucity of definitely datable sculptural remains of the earlier period has rendered it nearly impossible for students of iconography to make comparative studies of the literary descriptions of the deity with actual representations. A few, at least, of the Viṣṇu temples in Tamiḻ Nāḍu appear to date from the period before the rise of the Pallavas and early Pāṇḍyas. Besides the Yathōktakāri temple at Kāñcī, two more shrines later sung by the Āḻvārs, namely the Pāṇḍava Perumāḷ (Kṛṣṇa) and the Ulagaḷanda Perumāḷ (Trivikrama) temples contain stucco images in their *garbhagṛhas*. The three together represent the three forms under study. Mention may also be made here, of the earliest epigraphic reference to the wooden image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmi (Viṣṇu) which was enshrined in a brick temple, the remains of which have been exposed in the course of the excavations in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Andhra country. The inscription has been dated in about the 3rd-4th century A.D.[38] The Trivikrama temple at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district, also enshrines a wooden image of the God.[39]

35. "*tāmarai payanda dāvi lūḻi nāṉmuga voruvaṟ cuṭṭik-kānvara*" ll. 164-5.

36. *Poṉṉaṇi nēmi valangoḷ cakkarakkai*
maṉṉuyir mudalvaṉ magaṉ emakkaruḷiya
arumaṟai naṉṉūl aṟiyādigaḷndanai. Maṇi., XIII, 11.57 ff.

37. The *Śayana* images in the temples of Śrīrangam and Tiruvanantapuram are in stucco.

38. *Indian Archaeology*—A Review, 1958-59, p. 8. The image, according to the inscription, was made of *audumbara* wood.—Cf. *Bṛhatsamhita*, Chap. XLVIII, *Vanasampravēśādhyāya*).

39. K. R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

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The worship of Sankaraṣaṇa or Balarāma was especially popular in this period. Independent temples were built and dedicated to him.[40] It is evident that both as the *Vyūha* Saṅkaraṣaṇa and the *vibhava* or *avatāra*, Balarāma, this sāttvata–Vṛṣṇi hero, was one of the chief deities worshipped in this period. Balarāma, as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, is mentioned in several works. Numerous descriptions of his form, complexion and attributes occur, making him as a distinctly popular deity. This may be not a little due to the agricultural character of this God who has the *nāñjil* or *hala* (ploughshare) as his chief weapon. His complexion is said to be white like milk or conch.[41] He is called Vāliyōṉ on account of the quality of *bala* or strength associated with him.[42] He had the *nāñjil* as his weapon.[43] He is said to wear a blue garment[44] and a red garland or sometimes a white *kaḍamba* garland.[45] He had the palmyra banner.[46] He is often called the one who wears a single ear–ring.[47]

This Vṛṣṇi hero is also found associated with Kṛṣṇa and Piṉṉai in the *Kuravai* dance, performed by them in Dvāraka. More about this aspect of Balarāma will be said in the discussion on Kṛṣṇa and Piṉṉai.

In addition to the frequent references to the association of Balarāma with Kṛṣṇa, this deity is also grouped with others such as Sūrya, Kāma, Sāma and Śiva.[48] The mention of Balarāma

40. In Puhār or Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam there was a temple of Balarāma. *Śilap.* IX-1. 10, XIV, l. 9 (*Veḷḷainākartan-koṭṭam*).

41. *Kalittogai*, v. 104, l. 8 — *pāṉiṟa vaṇṇaṉ;* v. 124, l. 2; *Puṟam*; v. 56, l. 3; *kaḍal vaḷar purivaḷai puraiyu mēṉi;* v. 58, l. 14; *Naṟṟiṇai*, v. 32, l. 2; *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimbadu*, v. 96, ll. 2-3; v. 97, l.2; *Paḷamoḻi*, v. 138, l. 1; *Paripāḍal*, v. 3, l. 81; *Śilap.*, v. l. 171; *Vālvaḷaimēṉi vāliyōṉ kōyilum.*

42. *Puṟam*, v. 56, l. 12; *"Valiyōt-tiyē vāliyōṉai valiyāl vāliyōṉai oppai"*; *Silap.*, v. l. 171 etc.

43. *Kali*, v. 124, l. 1; *Puṟam*, v. 56, l. 4; *Śilap.*, XIV l. 9. He has the *mēḻi* or plough as his weapon in the right hand; *Vaḷai nāñjil—Paripādal*, v. 1-l. 5.

44. *Kali.* v. 124; p. 3 *"nīla nīrudaipolat-tagaiperṟa veṇṭirai"*.

45. *Kali.* v.105, l. 11; *Paripāḍal*, v. 15, l. 19.

46. *Paṉaikkodi; Puram*, v. 56, l. 4: v. 58, l. 14; *Iṉṉā Nāṟpadu*, v. 1, l. 2, etc.

47. *Oru Kuḻai yoruvaṉ, Kali*, v. 26, l. 3; *Paripāḍal*, v. 1, l. 5 etc.

48. *Kali.*, v. 26.

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sometimes without the association of Kṛṣṇa, proves that besides being an emanatory form of Vāsudeva, he enjoyed individual status as an important deity being the eldest of the deified Vṛṣṇi heroes.

Vāsudeva–Kṛṣṇa, as known to the Sangam classics and the later group of works according to our division, was one of the most popular gods worshipped by the early Tamils. The legends of the Kṛṣṇa saga, especially those connected with the sports of his boyhood and youth, were familiar to the people of this period. As the divine hero of the later work *Bhāgavata* he attained a special place in the Vaiṣṇava pantheon and yet retained his pastoral character throughout the religious history of India. The same picture is reflected even in the Sangam works of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Stories of the child Kṛṣṇa upturning the cart (*śakata*) sent by Kañjan (Kamsa),[49] the youth Kṛṣṇa killing the *Mallas* sent by Kamsa,[50] his *cakra* cutting the forehead of the elephant (Kuvalayāpīḍa) of his enemies,[51] the uprooting of the *Karunda* (Yamalārjuna?) tree,[52] the redeeming of the Sun concealed by the *Asuras*,[53] the killing of the horse Keśin by tearing his mouth open[54] and the destruction of 'Śo', the fire–fortress of Bāṇāsura[55] are referred to in several works of the period. Kṛṣṇa helping the Pāṇḍavas to conquer the Kauravas and other episodes of the *Mahabhārata* were equally popular. Mention has been made earlier of the rendering of the *Mahabhārata* in Tamil by Perundēvanā, who is also the author of several invocatory verses in the anthologies. The acme of the popularity of the Kṛṣṇa legends is represented by the *Śilappadikāram*, which devotes an entire chapter[56] to the theme, besides referring to them casually in other

49. *Trikaḍugam, Kāppu;* "*māyac-cakaṭam udaitta-dū-um*".
50. *Aintiṇai Aimpadu*, v. 1; *Kali.*, v. 52, l. 5.
51. *Kali.*, v. 52, l. 4; v. 134, l. 3; "*Kolyāṇaṙ aṇinudal aḻuttiya ūḻipōl*"; *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpadu*, v. 97, l. 1.
52. *Aham.* v. 59, l. 6; *Trikaḍugam, Kāppu; Śilap.* XVII, l. 21; "*Kollaiyañcāraṙ kurundositta māyavaṉ*".
53. *Puṟam*, v. 174, pp. 1-4.
54. *Kali.*, v. 103, ll. 53-55; "*mēvār viḍuttanda kūndaṙ kudiraiyai vāypagutti̱ṭṭup-puḍaitta nanrinnan mayonenrut-kirren nenju.*"
55. *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai*, v. 2, l. 4.
56. Chapter XVII, *Āycciyar Kuravai.*

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places. In this work Kṛṣṇa's character as the cowherd God is predominant. Stories of Kṛṣṇa hiding the Sun with his *Cakra* and the churning of the Ocean of milk and similar episodes establishing his identity with Viṣṇu are related in several other verses.

The Govardhana episode is mentioned in the *Nāṉmaṇikkaḍigai* (verse 2). This concept has a special significance, as it represents the story of the rivalry between the Kṛṣṇa and Indra cults, the latter having been superseded by the former. The spread of this concept in Tamiḻ Nāḍu may be taken to signify the decline of the popularity of Indra and other Gods of the early Vedic pantheon.

Mention has been made earlier of Kṛṣṇa's dalliance with Piṉṉai (or Nappiṉṉai) along with Balarāma. Kṛṣṇa's love for Piṉṉai is often quoted as an example of true love.[57] This aspect of the Kṛṣṇa story has been made the theme of an entire chapter in the *Śilappadikāram*, in which Māyōṉ and his elder brother Balarāma danced with Piṉṉai in Dvāraka. Among the several sports of the *Bālacarita of Kṛṣṇa*, the *Kuravai* dance with Piṉṉai having spear-like eyes, is an important one. In this dance Kṛṣṇa is placed to the right of Piṉṉai and Balarāma, the left, in the circle formed by the *Gopis* (Young girls of the cowherd community). It is because of his love for Piṉṉai that Māyōṉ is said to be indifferent to Śrī, who resides in his chest. Ten dances are said to have been performed by Kṛṣṇa;[58] and the close association of Kṛṣṇa with dance probably became the basis of the concept of Veṇṇaikkūtta or Navanīta Nartana Kṛṣṇa represented beautifully in later sculptures of stone and metal. That Kṛṣṇa was found of eating butter is mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*. Another interesting episode is the *kudam* dance that Kṛṣṇa is said to have performed in the streets of 'Śo', the fortress of Bāṇāsura, to release Aniruddha from imprisonment at the place, due to his love for Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇāsura.[59] Kāmadeva is also associated with the story of the release of his son Aniruddha, as he is said to have entered the fort of Vāṇan (Bāṇa) in the guise of a eunuch (*pēḍu*)

57. *Iṉṉilai*, v. 22.
58. *Śilap.* VI, ll. 46-48 (See U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Ed. *Śilap.*' p. 190).
59. *Ibid.*, ll. 54-5.

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and danced the *pēḍu* (one of the eleven popular themes of *kūttu* or dance).[60] The pastoral nature of Kṛṣṇa appears to have had a great appeal to the Tamils, especially in the extreme south of the region, where the shepherd classes are largely found. Later temples were built for this God under the name Tiruvāyppāḍidēva. The term Āyppāḍi is used as a synonym for Gokula where the cowherd community lived. Most of the stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood and youth referred to in the Sangam works later came to be systematically propounded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This work is generally accepted to be of South Indian origin and its composition is dated in about the 9th century A.D.[61] It is probable that these stories were further popularised through the devotional hymns of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvars who describe the child and youth Kṛṣṇa with the intense adoration of a *bhakta*, sometimes treating their devotion as the love of the beloved for her Lord (*Nāyaki-nāyaka bhāva*).

Thus both the *Vyūha* form of Kṛṣṇa (Vasudeva) and the *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad Gīta* are found widely accepted in this period. The other two *Vyūha* or emanatory forms namely Pradyumna and Aniruddha are known only to the *Paripāḍal*, which refers in a verse to all the four *Vyūhas* thus.[62]

"Sengaṭkāri Karungaṇ Veḷḷai
Poṉ kaṭ paccai paingaṇmā-al"

i.e. the dark-complexioned Vāsudeva with red eyes, the white-complexioned Baladeva with dark eyes, the green-complexioned Pradyumna and Aniruddha respectively.

Pradyumna was more popular in his role as the God of Love or Kāma, which was his previous incarnation. Kāma's attributes are the sugarcane bow and the flower arrows. The Sangam works which treat of War and Love as the two main themes of their poetry, have the largest scope for the description of Kāma and his activities in bringing lovers together and the special worship instituted for him in spring. Temples dedicated to Kāma are

60. N. Subrahmanian, *Śangam Polity*, p. 345.
61. See J. N. Banerjea, *Śrīmad Bhāgavata—The Place of its origin*, *IHQ*, *Vol.* 27, 1951, pp. 138-43.
62. *Paripāḍal*, v. 3, pp. 81-82.

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mentioned.[63] As the God of Love, Kāma retains his popularity in the Hindu Purāṇic themes upto the present day. The Buddhist stories have also absorbed him as representing one of the evils of the world, causing misery through desire and as one whose temptation must be overcome in all possible ways. Hence the Buddha's victory over Māra and his hosts, when he was just about to enter upon his last mediation before attaining enlightenment. This interesting theme has been a favourite one in early Buddhist art as represented in the sculptures of Sāñcī, Amarāvati and other Buddhist sites.

As Pradyumna, however, he is mentioned only in a few places as the *Vyūha* of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. On the other hand, numerous references are found to Kāma whose ensign, the fish (*surā* or *makara*), is found on his flag[64] and whose chief attributes are the sugarcane bow and flower arrows.[65] The two anthologies *Kalittogai* and *Paripāḍal* and the two epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* contain numerous references to Kāma, but it is only in the *Kalittogai* and *Paripāḍal* that his relationship to Viṣṇu is clearly indicated as he is called 'Māl Magan' or son of Māl. In the two epics, his character as the God of Love is predominent.

Sāma, the younger brother of Kāma was also known in this period. The mention of Sāma is of particular interest as he may be identified with Sāmba, the last of the *Pañca Vīras* of the *Vṛṣṇis* who were deified and worshipped in North India, in the region of Mathura, at least as early as the first half of the 1st century A.D.[66] Sculptural representations of the five Vṛṣṇī heroes have been found in Mathura.[67] Aniruddha, the fourth emanatory form as well as the fourth Vṛṣṇi hero does not figure in any work of this period with the exception of the *Paripāḍal*, whereas Sāma is known to the

63. *Kali.*, v. 82, l. 4; *puttēḷir kōṭṭam*; v. 109, pp. 10-20; *Śilap.* IX, l. 60; *Kāmavēḷ kōṭṭam.*

64. *Kali.*, v. 84, ll. 23-24; *Maṇi.*, XX, l. 91; *Śilap.* v. l. 210; *mīnerṟukkoḍiyōn;* XXVIII, l. 19; *makarakkoḍiyōṉ malarak-kaṇai turandu.*

65. *Kali.*, v. 63, l. 8; *Maṇi.*, XX, l. 91; *"karuppuvilli-y-aruppukkaṇait-tūva";* XXV l. 90; *Śilap.*, VIII, l. 62; XV, ll. 101-2, and XXVIII, l. 19. He had five arrows; *ainkaṇai neḍuvēḷ'; Śilap.*, XXVIII, l. 42.

66. The Mora Well inscription. See J. N. Banerjea, DHI, p. 103.

67. J. N. Banerjea, *"The Holy Pañca-Vīras of the Vṛṣṇis"*, *JISOA*, X, p. 67.

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Kalittogai as the younger brother of Kāma and is grouped along with other Gods such as Balarāma, Sūrya, Kāma and Śiva.[68] These references indicate the probability of the prevalence of the cult of the *Pañcā Vīras* in Tamiḻ Nāḍu in this period, though there is no specific grouping of the five together in any of the Sangam works. If the cult in any form prevailed in the early centuries of the Christian era, it seems to have disappeared gradually from the 8th century A.D. or earlier, when other concepts of the Vaiṣṇava faith gained precedence over them, just as in North India the cult was gradually replaced by the *Pāñcarātra* theories of the *Vyūhas* and *Vibhavas* of Viṣṇu.

In the same manner, the *avatāras* became more popular and widespread from about the 7th century onwards when the Pallava sculptures depict the stories of the *avatāras* in narrative panels of great artistic merit in the cave temples of Mahābalipuram and later in the 8th–9th century narrative reliefs of Nāmakkal, which were executed during the period of the Adigaimāṉ chieftains of the Kongu country.

An important piece of evidence, which indicates the prevalence of the cult of the *Pañca Vīras*, is the presence of the images of all the five of them together with Rukmini in the temple of Pārthasārathi in Tiruvallikkēni (Madras) dating from the period of the Pallava kings who ruled from the seventh to the 9th centuries A.D. and also in the Visnu temple at Näcciyārkōyil in the Tanjore District. Both temples have been sung by the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, but their songs are addressed mainly to Vāsudeva Krsna the chief deity among the Vrsnis, thus indicating that even by then the cult had been replaced by other forms of the worship of Viṣṇu.

The only *avatāra* form which is conspicuously described is that of Vāmana–Trivikrama who measured the three worlds. This form is frequently referred to in all the works of the period, whereas two more *avatāras*—the Varāha and Narasimha are mentioned in the *Paripāḍal* and *Śilavvadikāram*. Similarly, though the story of Rāma is well known his identity as an *avatāra* of Visnu occurs only in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*. Paraśurāma

68. *Kali.*, vv. 26 & 94.

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is known in this period as the destroyer of the *Kṣatriyas*, but no clear indication is found to his absorption into the *avatāra* fold.

The *Kalittogai* attributes to Kṛṣṇa the act of measuring the worlds—"*Ñālamūṉṟaḍittāya mudalvaṟku*".[69] The invocatory verse in the *Trikaḍugam* begins with the praise of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, who measured the world "*Kaṇṇagaḷ ñālam aḷandadū-um*". The same episode is referred to in other works also. The *Paḷamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* mentions the story of the *asura* king *Bali* losing his sovereignty over the three worlds by giving away land measuring three steps to Vāmana.[70] In the *Maṇimekalai*, the whole story is alluded to thus:

"Neḍiyōṉ Kuṟaḷuru vāgi nimirndu taṉ
aḍiyiṟ paḍiyai yaḍakkiya aṉṉāḷ
ṉīriṟ peyda muri vār śilai
māvali marumāṉ śīrkeḻu tirumagaḷ"[71]

The Varāha *avatāra* is described only in the *Paripāḍal*,[72] wherein it is stated that Viṣṇu took the form of the boar in order to rescue the earth submerged by the waters and because of this act, he is believed by some to have married the earth goddess. This instance marks a syncretism between the worship of the Vedic Viṣṇu and that of the popular earth Goddess, a feature, which appears to have had a distinctly southern origin and development. For henceforth, the representation of Bhūdevi as one of the consorts of Viṣṇu becomes very common in the South. The particular lines in the *Paripāḍal*, however, show that with the author of the verse the idea does not find favour. He does not accept Bhūdevi as a consort of Viṣṇu because Tiru or Śrī resides in his chest.

"Śeyyoḷ sērnda niṉ māśil agalam
vaḷartirai maṇṇiya kiḻarpoṟi nāppaṇ
vaivāṉ maruppiṉ kaḷirumaraṇ ayarpu
puḷḷi nilaṇum puraipaḍal ariteṇa
uḷḷunar uraippōr uraiyoḍu śiṟandadaṇṟu"

(Verse 2 — ll. 31.35)

69. *Kali.*, v. 124, l. 2.
70. vv. 178 and 184.
71. XIX, v. 51; Also *Śilap.*, XI, l. 147 (*Nīṉilan-kaḍanda neḍumudiyaṇṇal*); *Paripādal*, v. 3, l. 20.
72. v. 21, ll. 10-35; v. 4, ll. 21-24.

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On the basis of this statement it can be suggested that the process of absorption of popular elements into the worship of the Vedic Viṣṇu had just begun and had not yet found general acceptance among all the worshippers of Viṣṇu.

The legend of the floods which has given rise to this myth and other similar ones, is a feature found also in the other early civilisations of the world,[73] which, however, are not directly connected with the evolution of any myth or religious concept.[74] The legend is also related to a historical incident in the Tamil country, i.e. the change of the Pandya capital twice due to the inroads of the Sea.[75]

The Kūrmāvatāra is probably implied in the *Paripāḍal* verse which describes the part played by Viṣṇu in the churning of the Ocean of Milk.[76] No separate reference to this form or the story connected with its origin is found during this period. Similarly, the Matsyāvatara also does not find mention in any of these early works.

The Narasimhāvatara is known to the *Paripāḍal* and the *Śilappadikāram*,[77] both of which represent the culmination of the spread of the Vaiṣṇava concepts in Tamiḻ Nāḍu during the period. The concept originated from the story of the Man-lion incarnation assumed by Viṣṇu for killing Hiraṇya-Kaśipu, who could not tolerate the intense devotion of his son, Prahlāda, to Viṣṇu. The

73. A. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, *The Flood Legends of the East*, JBHS, 1929, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1-14.

74. *Śilap.*, XI, ll. 19-20.

75. These stories have direct bearing on the claims of the linguists to the great antiquity of the Tamil literature of the Śangam and also the claim that there were three Śangams, which flourished in the three Pāṇḍya capitals, the last one at Madurai. Commenting on these legends it has been said that they preserve the memory of inroads by the sea into ancient Tamiḻagam as a result of which the region of the Pahṟuḷi between the R. Pahṟuli and the Kumari 'mountain' was submerged into the sea and this is said to have occurred before the time of Tolkāppiyar—K. Subramanyam, Introd. *Tolkāppiyam, Eḻuttu.* pp. XII-XIII

76. *Paripāḍal*, v. 1, ll. 64-71. (Here, the description is of Ādiseṣa's valour and his being used as the rope for churning the Ocean of milk, while the Mandhara mountatin was used as the churning stick).

77. *Paripāḍal*, v. 4, ll. 11-21; *Śilap.*, XVII, *Muṉṉilaipparaval*, 34.

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particular reference in the *Paripāḍal* is to the nails of the man-lion tearing open the chest of the *asura*. In later sculptural representations of this form, the act of Narasimha tearing open the entrails of Hiraṇya-Kaśipu is a favourite theme. The story is sometimes told in the narrative form representing in sculptures the actual appearance of Narasimha from the pillar, his fight with Hiraṇya and the final act of killing the *asura*.

Among the traditional ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu the above three-Vāmana, Varāha and Narasimha, besides the Kūrma-appear to be widely known, whereas Rāma as an *avatāra* is mentioned for the first time only in the *Śilappadikāram*[78] and the *Maṇimēkalai*.[79] Episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are, however, often quoted in the early works, indicating that the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic was well known. One of the incidents from the epic referred to in the *Ahanāṉūṟu* is that of Rāma silencing the birds by his superior power while he was seated with his followers under a huge banyan tree for religious discussions, before crossing over to Lanka.[80] Both Rāma and Sītā are mentioned in a *Puṟam* verse, in connection with the episode of Rāvaṇa carrying away Sītā to Lanka.[81] The *Paḷamoḻi* Nāṉūṟu quotes two important instances from the story of Rāma to illustrate the morals it preaches, *viz.* Rāvaṇa bringing destruction upon himself by being hostile to the great Rāma and Vibhīsaṇa acquiring the throne of Lanka by helping Rāma.[82] The monkeys helping Rāma to construct a bridge across the sea to Lanka and the two birds Sampāti and Jaṭāyu are also referred to in the *Maṇimēkalai*.[83]

78. XIII, l. 65; XIV, ll. 46-49;

tādai-v-ēvalin māduḍan pogik
kādali nīngak-kaḍutuyar-uḷandōṉ
Vēda mudalvar payanḻōṉeṉbadu
nī yaṟindilaiyō neḍumoḻiyaṉṟo.

79. XVIII, ll. 9-11.

80. *Aham.*, v. 70, ll. 15-17.

81. v. 378, ll. 18-19; *"Kaḍuntēṟa-l-irāmaṉuḍaṉ puṉar sītaiyai Valittagai-y-arakkaṉ vauviya ñāṉṟai"*.

82. vv. 258 & 292.

83. III, l. 54; XVII, ll. 9-11.

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Thus it can be said that the *Rāmāyaṇa* had already become widely popular in the Tamil country and that there are indications of Rāma being included among the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Yet, one cannot be certain regarding the popularity of the worship of Rāmā or whether the origin and spread of this cult took place in this period. It is also curious that, in spite of the early popularity of Rāma as the divine hero, no representation in stone or metal has so far been found till the period of the rise of the imperial Cōḷas. Even sculptural panels depicting incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are found only in the early Cōḷa temples of the 9th–10th century A.D.[84] The widespread popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the earlier periods may be due more to the idealism in the characterisation of the hero, who seems to have inspired the early Tamils very much by his ideal life.

In the Deccan, on the other hand, sculptural representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* date from an earlier period and are found in the early monuments of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi of the 7th–8th centuries A.D. at Paṭṭadakkal and those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Ellora of the 8th–10th centuries A.D. However, there appear to have been some paintings depicting scenes from the great epic, if, the reference in the *Paripādal*[85] to some scenes in Tirumāliruñjōlai or Aḻagarmalai is accepted as connected with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Mention is made in this work to the representation of the story of Agaligai being cursed by Gautama, her ascetic husband, to turn into a stone, as she had a clandestine affair with Indra.

Paraśurāma was known in this age, as the bearer of the battle axe (*maḻuvāḷ neḍiyōṉ*) and as the one, who extirpated the *Kṣatriyas*, and who tied round his waist the chord of the sacrificial

84. e.g. the *Rāmāyaṇa* sculptures in the Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbakonam, Vīraṭṭēneśvara temple at Kaṇḍiyūr and the Śiva temple at Puñjali. The earliest representations are thus found in the Śiva temples of the early Cōḷa period.

85. v. 19, ll. 49–52.

Viragiyar viṇava viṇāvirup-pōrum
Indian pūśai ivaḷagaligai-y-ivan
śeṉṟ gavuṭaman śiṉanuṟak-kalluru
oṉṟiya paḍiyidēṉ-ṟurai śeyvōrum.

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post after performing the Vedic sacrifice.[86] In the *Maṇimekalai* the name Paraśurāma itself occurs. The references to this personality are clear enough, yet there is no definite evidence to show that he was associated with the Vaiṣṇava pantheon in this period. The historicity of Paraśurāma, the Bhārgava, has generally been accepted and his importance as one of the chief Vedic personalities associated with the Aryanisation of South India cannot be denied. Legends connected with the origins of Konkaṇa and Kēraḷa have Paraśurāma as the central figure. Most of these legends became popular in the South quite early in its history.

While most of the *avatāras* and specific features of Viṣṇu are already referred to in other works, the *Paripādal* enlarges the themes and provides a wider variety of concepts by referring to numberless forms: *"Eṇ varambu aṟiyā yākkaiyai"*.[87] The same work[88] describes Viṣṇu as possessing multiple hands evidently under different forms, some of which allude to other minor *avatāras* known to the *Āgamas* and also represented in later sculptures. One of these forms is that of Mohini, the enchantress, assumed by Viṣṇu, while distributing *amṛta* to the *devas* after the churning of the Ocean of Milk. The relevant lines describe Viṣnu as having only one hand, thereby obviously symbolising the partial and deceptive role he played in the above story. This is followed by the reference to the two-handed Viṣṇu, which is of particular interest, as in the earlier group of the works of this period, the only two attributes ascribed to Viṣṇu are the *Śankha* and *Cakra*. Then follow the references to the three-handed

86. *Aham.*, v. 220, ll. 5-8
"Maṇ marungarutta maluvāneḍiyōn
muṇ muyaṉṟaridiṉiṉ muḍitta vēlvikkayiṟarai yātta ....";
Man., XXII,. ll. 25 & 34.
"araśāḷurimain niṉpā-liṉmaiyin
paraśurāmaṇiṉ pāl van daṇcinugaṇ".

87. v. 3, l. 45.

88. v. 3, ll. 33-46:
Nagaiyac-cāga nallamirdu kaḷanda
Naḍuvunilai tiṟambiya nayamil orukai
irukai mā al
mukkai muṇiva nārkai aṇṇal
ainkai mainda aṟukai neḍuvēḷ

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ascetic, the four-handed lord, five, six,[89] seven and eight-handed one leading through nine, ten and hundred, to as many as a hundred thousand hands. Among these, the four-handed form is the most common in all later representations and an image of the eight-handed or Aṣṭabhuja Viṣṇu is, as mentioned, earlier, known even as early as the 4th century A.D. from Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa. The last mentioned multiple handed forms are evidently the result of the influence of the *Viśvarūpa* or *Virāṭapuruṣa* concept described in the *Bhagavad-Gīta*. These descriptions in the *Paripāḍal* have deep significance as they attest to the spread of the *Bhāgavata* cult and its philosophy, with the subsequent development of the *Pāncarātra* doctrines. This work, therefore, marks the popular trend in the crystallisation and spread of various concepts. While Viṣṇu figures as the protector of the earth in the preceding works, mainly as one of the Trinity, the *Paripāḍal* exalts him as the pervader of the Universe, ascribing its components and functions to his will and motives.[90]

Sri or Lakṣmī

Tiru or Śrī as the Goddess symbolising wealth, prosperity, fame, good-luck and beauty is frequently referred to in this period. In her role as Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu and as residing in his chest, she was equally popular. As representing wealth, Tiru is a common occurrence in all the Sangam works, the *Padineṇkīlkaṇakku and the two epics*.[91] This idea continues to

eḷukaiyāḷa eṇkai ēndaḷ
oṉpadiṟṟut-taḍakkai maṉ pērāḷa
padiṟṟuk-kai madavali nūṟṟukkai yāṟṟal
āyiram virittakaim-māyamāḷḷa
paḷiṉāyirankai mudumoḻi mudalva
nūṟāyirankai āṟaṟikaḍavul
aṉaittu mallapala vaḍukka lāmbal
niṉṉaip-purai niṉaippiṉ nīyaladuṇardiyō

also v. 2, 69-71.

89. N. Subramanian, *Pre-Pallavan Tamil index*, p. 799. (*Aṟukai neḍvēḷ* refers to the Dattātreya form according to U.V. Swaminatha Iyer—*Paripāḍal Mūlamum Parimēlaḻagaruraiyum*), p. 176.

90. vv. 1-4.

91. *Kuṟaḷ*; 168 & 215; *Nāladiyār*, v. 304, l. 1; *Tolkāppiyam*; 257, l. 2; *Aham*, v. 13, l. 6; *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*, l. 70; *Neḍunalvāḍai*, l. 89; *Malaipaḍukaḍām*, ll. 355-6; *Kali.*, v. 44, ll. 5-7.

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dominate the beliefs of people all over India even to-day. In later literature and epigraphic records, kings are often described as the wooers and possessors of Śrī and compared to Viṣṇu for he is the Lord of Śrī. Further, her unsteady nature as "wealth" is also found mentioned in the literary works of all periods.

Mention has already been made of Śrī residing in Māl's chest, as described in the works of this period. She is also known under various names such as Śeyyāḷ and Mā (Tirumagaḷ) and terms like *Poṟi* and *Poṉ* are also used to denote her.[92] The name Ilakkumi is found only in the *Maṇimēkalai*, in which the heroine is addressed by that name.[93]

Śrī as seated on the lotus is referred to in many places.[94] She is believed to reside in the doorways or entrances to houses, palaces and even at the gates of cities.[95] This idea must have given rise to the representation of Lakṣmī, especially Gajalakṣmī, with two elephants flanking her, on the lintels of the entrances or doorways. The concept of Gajalakṣmī is distinctly mentioned in the description of her representation on the lintel of a doorway given in the *Neḍunalvāḍai*. Here Lakṣmī is said to be seated on a lotus with two elephants on either side holding lotus flower in their trunks and sprinkling water over her. The same aspect is mentioned in the *Kalittogai* also.[96]

The concept of Śrī as the Lady Bountiful, Beauty etc. has its origin in the Vedic lore, whence it has been adopted by all the religious faiths which arose in India. She is often represented in early Buddhist art found in the early sculptures of Sāñci, Bhārhut

92. *Puṟam*,, v. 7, l. 5; *Trikaḍugam*, 15-1; *Nāṉmaṇi*, 67-3; *Perumbā*, ll. 424 & 440.

93. IX, l. 20.

94. *Tāmaraiyiṇāḷ — Kuṟaḷ*: 617; *Pūvin Kiḻatti — Nāḷaḍiyār*, 252-4; *Maṇimekalai*: XVI-34.

95. *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, ll. 40-41; *Neḍunalvāḍai*, l. 89.

96. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, *ll.* 81-85.

Tuṇaimān kadavam porutti-y-iṇaimāṇḍu
nāḷoḍu peyariya kōḷamai viḻumarattup-
podaviḻ kuvaḷaip puduppiḍi kālanaittut-
tāḷoḍu kuviṉṟa pōramai puṇarppil";

Kali., v. 44, ll. 5-7.

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and other places, both independently and as part of the "tree of life" designs. The lotus, with its undulating stem rising from the waters, itself symbolises life and the stem serves as the basic motif in art, from which all forms of life originate. Early Buddhist art has skilfully utilised the figure of Śrī, as standing or seated on the lotus to represent Māyā the mother of the Buddha. This motif symbolises the Buddha's *Jāti* or nativity. The basic symbolism has been accepted by all creeds, although the exact significance of its relationship to the chief deity of the particular pantheon has varied from faith to faith. In the Vaiṣṇava concept, Śrī is not merely the symbol of wealth and abundance, but also one of the consorts of Viṣṇu from whom all the later *avatāras* like Rukmiṇi emerge. Śrī as the chief consort of Viṣṇu is found in the iconography of all periods and regions in the history of India, whereas the other consorts differ from region to region. An important case in point is the acceptance of Bhūdevī as the other consort of Viṣṇu in South Indian iconography, a feature rarely met with in the north. Puṣṭī or Sarasvatī is alternately represented as the second consort, especially in the medieval iconography of eastern India.

The Lotus is the main attribute of Śrī and in the icons of this Goddess this flower is held in her left hand, as she is placed to the proper right of the God Viṣṇu.[97] The Goddess is also said to have perfomed the *Pāvai* dance to mitigate the military ferocity of the *asuras*.[98]

An interesting feature which developed in Tamiḻ Nāḍu during this period is the cult of Nappiṉṉai (Piṉṉai), the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. Her association with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the *Kuravai* dance at Dvāraka forms the theme of a whole chapter called the *Āycciyar kuravai* in the *Śilappadikāram*, in which, the dance is described as being performed by the *Āyar* class impersonating the three main dancers. The Kṛṣṇa–Nappinnai cult was popular in the Tamil country in the period of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, 7th–9th centuries who refer to it profusely in their devotional hymns. Āṇḍāḷ, the lady saint, in her *Tiruppāvai* mentions Nappiṉṉai in a number of

97. "*Malarmiśait-tiruviṉai Valattinilamaittavaṉ*", U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, *Silap.*, l. 189.

98. *Mani.*, v. l. 4, "*Tiruviṉ śeyyōḷ āḍiya pāvaiyiṉ*".

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verses.[99] The cult is also known to the Śaiva saints of the period. Sundarar, one of the *nāyaṉārs*, refers to the combination of Kṛṣṇa Piṉṉai in his *Tēvāram* as "*Piṉṉai nambum puyaittāṉ Neḍumāl.*"[100] Kṛṣṇa is believed to have married Nappiṉṉai in the traditional manner after a bull-baiting contest (*Kōl-Eṟutaḻuvudal*) in which he embraced and defeated seven bulls.[101]

While the references in the hymns of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints show that cult continued to be popular in the 7th-9th centuries A.D., in the earlier period the love of Kṛṣṇa for Piṉṉai is extolled in other works such as *Iṉṉilai*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu* and *Maṇimēkalai*.[102] All these references indicate the popularity of Piṉṉai as the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. She is sometimes identified with Nīlādevī. Attempts have also been made to equate her with Rādhā, whose cult developed in Eastern India, particularly Bengal, in the 9th century A.D., and spread over the whole of India in medieval times. The basis of this identification is the love shown by Kṛṣṇa to one particular *gopi* with whom he often disappeared, during his youthful sports and dalliance among the cowherdesses. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, however, makes no reference to the name of this *gopi*, though the special favour shown to her by Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in it. It has been suggested that Piṉṉai who is known to early Tamil literature is this *gopi* and the same as Rādhā whose cult became very popular in medieval India.[103]

This tradition continued to be strong in Tamiḻ Nāḍu even in the period of the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* of about the tenth century A.D. Āṇḍāḷ, however seems to indicate that Piṉṉai is none other than Śrī or Lakṣmī herself when she addresses her as "Tiruvē!"[104]

99. e.g. *Tiruppāvai*, v. 19.
100. Seventh *Tirumuṟai*, 63-7-1.
101. *Nālāyiradivyaprabandham*, *Periya Tirumoḻi*, IV-44; Appar, *Tēvāram*, 4th *Tirumuṟai*, 49-5-1.
102. *Iṉṉilai*, v. 22; *Paḻamoḻi*, v. 335; *Maṇi.*, XIX, 65-6.
"*Māmaṇi vaṇṇaṉun-tammuṉum piṉṉaiyum*
āḍiya kuravai-y-ihdameṉa nokkiyum".
103. A. K. Majumdar, A Note on the Development of Radha Cult, *ABORI*, 1955, Vol. 36, pp. 232-4.
104. *Tiruppāvai*, V. 20, l. 6.

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The only representation of this goddess is found in the huge rock cut relief of the Pallava period in the Kṛṣṇa maṇḍapa in Mahābalipuram. This is the famous scene of Govardhana, which depicts the story of Kṛṣṇa holding up the hill Govardhana as an umbrella to protect his community of cowherds along with their kine, from the wrath of Indra, who caused torrential rains. In the crowded scene presented here Balarāma appears in the right half, leaning on a cowherd standing nearby, and Kṛṣṇa stands next to him with a woman, who is marked out from the rest by her costume and pose. Hence she is identified as Nappinnai.[105]

The story of Govardhana is also referred to in other works like *Nāṉmaṇikkaḍigai*.[106] The above-mentioned relief of the Pallava period is the earliest known representation of the story, treated in the narrative method. This aspect of Kṛṣṇa, as all other stories connected with him, came to be treated more and simply, the details of the theme being relegated to a secondary position and giving prominence to the main figure of the God i.e. the narrative method giving place to iconic representation.

The association of the Goddess Durgā with Viṣṇu is evidenced by the references to her as the sister of Māyoṉ. She is called Mālavaṟkiḷai or Tirumāṟkiḷaiyāḷ in the *Śilappadikāram*,[107] probably in her aspect as Subhadrā. It is significant that in addition to this relationship, Durgā always bears the *śankha* and *cakra* as her weapons and the earliest reliefs representing her as killing Mahiṣāsura are found in the Pallava cave temples of Mahābalipuram along with other panels of Viṣṇu as Anantaśāyi.

Minor Deities — Garuḍa and Ādīśēṣa

As stated above, Garuḍa as the emblem of Viṣṇu's flag is mentioned invariably in all the works of this period referring to Viṣṇu. Garuḍa as Viṣṇu's *vāhana* is also well-known.[108] The stories of Garuḍa obtaining *amṛta* for the sake of his mother, to release her from bondage to his stepmother, Garuḍa's conceit

105. K. R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
106. v. 2, l. 3.
107. XII, ll. 68 & 87.
108. *Paḻamoḻi*, 178; *"Koṟṟappuḷ-ḷūrndulagam tāviṉa aṉṉāḷ"*.

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considering himself to be superior to Viṣṇu, whose achievements against the *asuras* he claimed to be his own, as he carried Viṣṇu, and the curbing of his pride by Viṣṇu are casually referred to in the *Paḷamoḷi Nāṉūṟu* and *Paripāḍal*.[109]

The term used here for referring to Garuḍa is *puḷ* which means bird. Often *Uvaṇa*[110] is also given as the name of this bird and this term is merely a form of *suparṇa* of the Vedic literature. A description of this emblem on Viṣṇu's flag occurs in the *Murugāṟṟuppaḍi* where the bird is said to possess curved and striped wings.[111] Garuḍa as the enemy of the snake which is his food and as having broad multi-coloured wings is also mentioned in the *Paripāḍal*. At the same time, Garuḍa is said to be adorned with snakes, as his head ornament, *toḍi* or bracelet and waist-band. Garuḍa also carried the snake in his red beak.[112]

Ādiśēṣa, the thousand headed serpent is said to have had a separate shrine in Kulavāy near Irudaiyūr.[113] The idea that he bears the burden of the earth on his head as lightly as if the earth were an ornament, is also expressed beautifully in a *Paripāḍal* verse. While he is said to be the chord used to churn the Ocean of Milk with Mandhara as the stick, the name of Vāsuki is also mentioned in the same role.[114] Ādiśēṣa is also known to have

109. *Paḷamoḷi*, 208; *Paripāḍal*, v. 3, 15-19; ll. 60-61.

110. *Śilap.*, XIV, l. 89.

111. "*Pāmbu paḍappuḍaikkum palvarikoḍuñciṟai puḷḷaṇi nīḷkoḍic-celvaṉum*", ll. 150-51.

112. *Paripāḍal*, v. 43-48.

avaṉ muḍimēl vaandadu pāmbu
pāmbu toḍi pāmbu muḍi mēlaṇa
pāmbu pūṇ pāmbu talaimēladu
pāmbu śiṟai talaiyaṇa
pāmbu paḍimadañ-cāyttōy paśumpūṇavai
koḍimelilrundavaṉ tākkiraiyadu pāmbu.

Kaḷavaḷi, 26, ll. 3-5.

aivāy vayanāgan-kavvi viśumbi varuñ-
cevvāy-uvaṇattiṟ-ṟōṉṟum puṇaṇāḍaṉ-
revvarai-y-aṭṭa kaḷattu.

113. *Paripāḍal Tiraṭṭu*, v. 1, ll. 48-49; ll. 58-59.

114. *Paripāḍal Tiraṭṭu*, v. 1, ll. 64-71; *Śilap.*, XVII, 32.

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served as the nāṇ or chord of the bow of Śiva as Tripurāntaka.[115] That Ādiśeṣa serves as the couch on which Viṣṇu reclines has been mentioned earlier in the description of the *Śayana* form of Viṣṇu or Anantaśāyi. The thousand hoods of Ādiśeṣa are also said to be spread over the head of Viṣṇu, probably both in the reclining and seated forms.[116] The seated form of Viṣṇu with the snake-hood canopy is represented in later sculptures, though the number of the hoods above his head is certainly not a thousand but either three or five.[117, 118]

Syncreticism as seen from early Tamil Literature

The concept of the Trinity or Trimūrti represented by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva discharging respectively the functions of creation, protection and destruction, is known to the literature of this period. The three Gods are often referred to together, expressing the idea of their position as the three principal Gods of their Hindu pantheon by virtue of their functions. This is further confirmed by the mention of the *mukkōl* carried by some ascetics, a feature which emphasises the unified concept of the Trinity and also proves the existence of the *tridaṇḍi* ascetics in this period.[119] The *mukkōl* stands as the symbol of this unification or syncretism. A further stage in the evolution of this concept is marked by the attribution in the *Paripāḍal*, of all the three functions to Viṣṇu himself, while Brahmā and Śiva are said to be only different forms of the same God.[120] The three deities are together mentioned also in the *Śilappadikāram*.[121]

The combined form of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Harihara (or Śankaranārāyaṇa) seems to be alluded to in a verse from the *Ahanāṉūṟu*. Here, a lady, possessing the beauty of the red twi-

115. *Paripāḍal Tiraṭṭu*, v. 1, ll. 76-77.

116. *Paripādal*, v. 1, ll. 1-2 "*āyiram viritta aṇanguḍai aruntalai tīyumiḻ tiraṇoḍu muḍimiśai aṇavara*".

117. & 118. *Murugārruppaḍai*, l. 162.

119. *Kali.*, v. 9, l. 2; v. 126, l. 4.

120. v. 1, ll. 37-46; v. 3, ll. 71-2; v. 13, l. 37.

121. XII, v. 9, l. 3.

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light sky and the blue sea, is compared to the combined form of Śiva of the red complexion and Viṣṇu of the blue complexion.[122]

The syncretic concept of Viṣṇu and Sūrya is probably implied in a verse from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, wherein Viṣṇu is described as Veyyōṉ (Sūrya) with the Garuḍa flag. This verse mentions Śiva, Balarāma, Viṣṇu and Muruga as the four important deities.[123]

Images and Temples

Some terms occurring in the early Tamil works are of considerable significane and importance in tracing the history of image worship among the early Tamils. *Kandu* and *naḍunilai* are two such words indicating the pillar or the deity in the pillar being worshipped.[124] It has been suggested that a deity is supposed to reside in the tall pillar to which the small variety of mustard and ghee are applied during the worship of the deity in it.[125] This belief is also said to be the same as the worship of the *Kandu* or the stump. The Purāṇic story of Narasimha coming out of the pillar,[126] is perhaps another development of a simple pillar worship of earlier days. For, the pillar is also said to house a frightful God.

Besides the pillar, actual images are also known. Such an idol is referred to by terms like *paḍimam* (*deivappaḍimam*), *paḍivam*[127] and *pāvai*.[128] The first one clearly refers to an icon

122. *"Veruvaru kaḍuntiṟal iruperundeivattu*
uruvudaṉ iyainda tōṟṟam pōla
andi vāṉamoḍu kaḍalaṇi koḷā a
vanda mālai pᵉyariṉ maṟṟivaḷ ..." v. 360, ll. 6-9.

123. v. 56, ll. 1-10.

124. N. Subramanian, *op. cit.*, p. 218, *Maduraikkāñci*, *l.* 353; *"Tolvali nilai-iya vaṇanguḍai neḍunilai"*.

125. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, l. 86; Also N. Subramanian, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

126. *Paripāḍal*, v. 4, ll. 19-20; (*Veḍipaḍā voḍitūṉ taḍiyoḍu*).

127. *Aham.*, 149, 12; *Śilap.*, XXVIII, l. 228; *Uraip.*, XXIX; *Mani.*, III 128; *Perumbā.*, l. 298.

128. *Pāvai* occurs in several works e.g. *Aham*: 98, 12
Kadirpāvai, statue of a God. *Maṇi*, XX, 111; XXII, 94-104.
Madanappāvai (Kāma's image) *Śilap.*, XII, 33. *'Nōṉ.*
Śuvarppāvai', Aham., 369-8. (The term suggests that it was either a painting or a three dimensional figure set up near the wall). Also N. Subrmanian, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-61.

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whereas the second is used to denote all types of figures represented either in relief or in painting. *Oviam* is the term used for denoting a painted picture. That the plastic art was well developed is amply borne out not only by the references to images but to the art of stucco-work, in which the Tamils appear to have attained a high degree of proficiency. The expert artists were called *maṇṇīṭṭāḷar* (those who worked in stucco) and the term *sudai* is often mentioned for stucco.[129] The use of such perishable materials in this early period has been cited by scholars as the reason for the absence of any tangible remains. It cannot, however, be affirmed that more permanent materials like stone were not used at all. The use of stone for making images is attested by a clear reference to it in the *Śilappadikāram*, in which, the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvaṉ is said to have brought some from the Himalayas for making the image of Kaṇṇagi.[130] It is curious, however, that no remains of stone sculptures of this period have survived. The principal deity of the temple being painted on the wall inside the shrine of a brick temple is mentioned in the *Ahanāṉūṟu*.[131] The paintings of Kāma and Rati in the Muruga temple at Tirupparankunram are also mentioned.[132]

The above evidences of the making of idols and painting them lead us to the question of the temples which existed during this period. As mentioned earlier, numerous references to the temples — *Koṭṭam, Kovil, Nagar* and *Niyamam* — occur. There were temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Balarāma, Kāma, Muruga and even Ādiśeṣa. Definite mention is also made of particular sacred shrines or *sthalas* of Viṣṇu and Muruga. Of these the Viṣṇu temples of Śrīrangam, Tiruvanantapuram, Kāñcī, Vēṅgaḍam, Aḻagarmalai and Irundaiyūr are well known as Turutti Āḍagamāḍam, Tiruvehkā, Vēṅgaḍam, Irunkuṉṟam and Irundaiyūr. The reclining forms of Viṣṇu at Śrīrangam, Tiruvanantapuram and Tiru-

129. N. Subrahmanian, *Śangam Polity*, pp. 341-42.

130. XXV, 119, 1331 XXIX—*Uraippāṭṭumaḍai,*
"Kaṟkāl Koḷḷiṉun-kaḍavuḷāgum", XXV, l. 119.
"Podiyiṟ Kuṉṟattuk-kaṟkāl koṇḍu", XXV, l. 122.

131. vv. 167, 369; *"Īṭṭikai-neḍun-cuvar-viṭṭam Viḷndeṉa*
maṇi-p-puṟa-t-tuṟanda-maraṉ-cor-māḍattu eḻuḻaṉi-kaḍavuḷ".

132. *Paripāḍal*, v. 19, l. 48.

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vehkā (Kāñcī), the standing forms at Vēngaḍam and Aḻagarmalai, the seated form at Irundaiyūr are even described with important details in some of the works of this period viz., *Perumbāṇārṟuppaḍi*, *Paripāḍal* and *Śilappadikāram*. The reference to a brick temple in the *Ahanāṉūṟu* has been noticed already. Two other significant features may be pointed out here as proof of the elaborate worship offered in these temples. One is the existence of flags in the temples, representing the special emblems of the particular deities enshrined and the other is the festival of taking out the idol of the temple in procession called the "*pāḍi-viḻā*".[133]

Thus the literary evidences for the existence of temples and images in different media are quite conclusive. But in the absence of datable remains of such monuments belonging to this period, no comparative study of the literary descriptions with sculptural or painting remains is possible. However, the Pallava-Pāṇḍya of the subsequent centuries (7th-9th centuries) may well be cited as illustrating the stage of iconographic development reached by about the end of the period under study.

133. *Maduraikkāñci*, l. 366; *Śilap.*, Ed. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, *Uraiperuṟukaṭṭuṟai*, p. 31.

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Ziyauddin Barani : the First Indian Historian of Medieval India

BY

G. KHURANA

Ziyāuddīn Barani,[1] the author of *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* and numerous other works, is a bold link in the great chain of Medieval Indian historical tradition. Born at Baran, modern Bulandshahar, Barani deserves the claim of being the first Indian historian of his times. Other historians before Barani, like Albīruni (*Kitabu'l-Hind*), Al 'Utbi (*Kitab-ul Yamīnī*), Abul Fazl Baihaqi (*Tārīkh-i-mas'ūdi*), Hasan Nizāmi (*Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir*) and Minhāj ud-din (*Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*) belonged to foreign lands. The Indian-born Amir Khusrav and Khwāja Abū Malik 'Isāmi were primarily literary celebrities, though their writings contain a good amount of history. Barani thus remains the first Turkish historian who was born in India and who wrote history for the sake of history.

No contemporary biography of Ziyāuddīn Barani is available except for stray references in his own *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*. He was born about 684 A.H. (1285-86 A.D.) in an aristocratic family.[2] Barani nowhere mentions the profession of his paternal grand-father. He has said that his uncle 'Alāul Mulk was given the Kotwālship of Delhi by Sultan 'Alāuddīn Khalji. In the Council held before he left Delhi to fight the Mongols, the

1. The author always called himself Zia-i-Barani. But his full name as Amir Khurd, the author of *'Siyarul Aulia'*, knew it was Zia-ud-din Barani. Since the family belonged to Baran, Ziauddin attained the surname 'Barani'.

2. The date of Barani's birth is nowhere mentioned. Writing about the administration of Sultan Firūz Shah Tughluq Barani admitted that he was seventy-four at that time. In the preface to his book he wrote that he completed it in 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.). Thus roughly we can say that he must have been born about 684 A.H. (1285-86 A.D.) *'Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi'*, p. 537.

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Sultan declared, "You all know that 'Alāul-Mulk is *Wazir* and *Wazir-Zada*". Both these terms, though figuratively used, leave no doubt that Barani's grand-father was an officer of status. His maternal grand-father Sipāhsalār Hisāmuddīn was the 'Vakīl' of Malik Barbek Sultāni, the 'Hājib' of Sultan Ghiyāsuddīn Bālban. When Bālban marched from Lekhnauti against Tughril, Hisamuddin was appointed as the 'Shahna' of Lakhnauti. Barani's father Muwayyidu'l-Mulk was the 'Nā'ib' of Prince Arkal Khan and was appointed 'Nā'ib' and 'Khwaja' of Baran by 'Alāuddīn Khalji. Barani completed his education during the reign of Sultan Jalāluddīn Khalji. Besides *Tafsīr*, *Hadis*, *Fiqh* and *Tariqat* of Shaikhs, history occupied a very high place in his studies. He was well-known to the great scholars of the day like Amīr Khusrav and Mīr Hasan, and was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia and had even obtained a position of nearness to the great Shaikh.[3]

Barani joined the Court during the reign of Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughlaq. When and how he entered the service is nowhere mentioned. He says that he served in the court for seventeen years and three months. He was there upto the death of the Sultan. Since Muhammad ibn Tughlaq ruled for about twenty-seven years, Barani must have got an appointment at the court in the tenth year of Sultān's reign. Sultān Muhammad carried out many novel plans in the first ten years of his reign. Obviously he did so without the support of the *'Ulama*. Having found it difficult to separate politics from religion, he attempted to have a hold over the famous school of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Aulia, who was dead by then. His senior 'Khalīfas' like Shaikh Nāsiruddīn Chirāgh-i-Delhi, Shaikh Shamsuddīn Yahya, Shaikh Qutub-ud-dīn Munawwar and Maulāna Fakhruddīn Zarrādi, strictly in keeping with their mystic tradition did not attach themselves to the Court. However a section failed to withstand the temptation and Barani was one of them. He would justify the actions of the

3. In the fifth chapter of *Siyarul Aulia*, Amīr Khurd gave short biographical notes on twenty celebrated disciples on Nizam-ud-din Aulia and then added some lines about the other nineteen. A full page is given to our author also. (pp. 312-13).

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Sultan by inventing or citing old anecdotes. Barani thus became a favourite of the Sultan. Powerful nobles like Qutlūgh Khān sent their requests to the Throne through Barani. After the suppression of rebellion at Deogiri by the Sultan, Barani was sent from Delhi with letters of congratulations by Firūz Shāh, Mālik Kabīr and Ahmad Ayāz. He met the Sultan when the latter had crossed the fort of Satun. The Sultan was advancing towards Broach and Barani travelled along with him. The Sultan is reported to have discussed with him the causes and cure of the widespread disorder, to which Barani was bold enough to suggest abdication.

The overall assessment of Barani's Court life, does not go in his favour. He was as a courtier aware of the Sultan's misdeeds and regretted his being a party to some of the acts of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq. We find Barani interned in the fortress of Bhatnir at the opening of the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh. For full five months he was living under the shadow of death and suffered from an extreme mental torture and despair. The circumstances leading to his fall from royal favour remain mysterious, but in any case the retirement does not seem to be voluntary as Amīr Khurd suggests.[4]

Some of the modern historians have tried to explain the fall of Barani in terms of his involvement in the so called rebellion of Khwāja-i-Jahān. However, as stated earlier, Barani was sent to the Sultan with letters of congratulations after the royal success at Deogiri. There is no proof of his leaving the camp of the Sultan before the latter's death. The opinion that Barani was regarded as a scapegoat for the crimes of Sultan Muhammad ibn-Tughlaq is equally unfounded because no drastic change was effected in the nobility with the change of the royal person.[5]

In fact Barani largely owed his fall to the advent of Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl. This man came to power with the accession of Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. Though technically Nā'ib Wazīr, he

4. *Ibid.*
5. Mahdi Husain: *Tughlaq Dynasty*, p. 553

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became the power behind the throne.[6] To the bad luck of Barani, Khān-i-Jahan, though a man of high efficiency, was a Hindu convert to Islam and possessed a large harem. As evident from the comments in the court of the late Sultan and his instructions in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi'* and *'Fatāwā-i-Jahāndari'* later on, Barani had very low opinion of such persons. Obviously Khān-i-Jahān could not have read Barani's books which he had not written till then, but a charge of the use of 'poisonous' words was brought against him on the basis of what he had said in the court of the late Sultan. It became, therefore, impossible for Barani to have a place in the new governing class or in a court dominated by Khān-i-Jahān. Barani, though bitter about his enemies, nowhere names them. The only possible cause for this also can be that his greatest enemy was all powerful Khān-i-Jahān. Perhaps the property of Barani was also confiscated, and only a very small share of his income was left to him, something which Amīr Khurd could, in courtesy, refer to as 'pension'. On his return to Delhi Barani had 'nothing to live on except his regrets'. It was at this stage Barani wrote his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* and other books including *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndarī*. Till the end of his life Barani went on writing and pined for royal patronage.

The last days of Barani's life were steeped in poverty and misery. He had written books after books but had failed in his object. His enemies had made it practically impossible for him and his books to approach the Sultan. His greatest regret was that he could reap no advantage out of the Sultan Firūz Shāh's love of history. Barani shed tears at the memory of his past enjoyments. He lamented for he had neither attained eminence in his religious affairs, nor in worldly prosperity that would satisfy a refined and cultured mind. He was confined to his corner of helplessness and poverty and had nothing to carry away to the next world, save his unfulfilled desires. "The sky has treated me in a way that is not permitted even in any infidel land", wrote Barani.[7]

Thus Barani died full of complaints and miseries. No contemporary had mentioned the correct date of the death of Barani. He

6. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf: *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 400.
7. Barani; *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 114.

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definitely completed his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* in 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.). While writing about the administration of Firūz Shāh he wrote that he was seventy-four at that time. Thus he must have died on some date later than 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.) and must have been more than seventy-four years old. As described by Amīr Khurd had no dang or dirham with him at the time of his death. He had given away even his clothes in charity. There was only one piece of cloth over his dead body and only a piece of gunny cloth under it. He was buried at the foot of the grave of his father.[8] This was the pathetic end of our author who had a long and eventful life, who had witnessed as many as eight rulers on the throne of Delhi and had passed through thick and thin of life.

Politico-Military Ideas

Barani was not only a historian but a political thinker as well. Unmindful of the chronological sequence, he emphasized the totality of events, while writing an account of Sultān Mohammad ibn Tughlaq. In the preface to his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* he claimed that his book did not lack in the administrative laws and orders. If someone looked into it for political theories and the advices of the past statesmen, they too were better discussed in that work than any other contemporary book. His *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndari* is really the continuation of his political ideas found in *Tārīkh-ī-Firūz Shāhi*. In fact *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndari* is the only existing treatise on political theory written during the Sultanate period.

Kingship occupied the most important place in Barani's scheme of thought. He had great respect for the office and wanted to raise the king above all other functionaries of the State in peoples' estimation. However, he believed that the institution of Kingship was un-Islamic. Prophethood was the perfection of religion and kingship was the perfection of worldly good fortune. These two perfections were opposed to each other and their combination was not within the bounds of possibility. But Barani justified this institution and the arbitrary actions of the kings on two grounds: its necessity and its utility. He believed that just as the eating of the carrion, though prohibited, was permitted in the time of dire

8. Amīr Khurd: *Siyarul Aulia*, pp. 312-13.

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need, similarly the customs and traditions of the pagan emperors of Iran, though un-Islamic, should be accepted. The arbitrary actions of the king were also justified if such actions aimed at the promotion of the 'True Faith' among the people. Barani quoted Caliph 'Umar's saying: "Those who fear the Sultan are more numerous than those who fear the Quran". So if the King, by his disciplinarian action, enforced justice and truthfulness in the affairs of society, his power and authority would be justified.

Thus Barani realised the importance of the institution of Kingship as an instrument of Islam. Thinking in this way he naturally described kingship as the Vice-regency of God' and the King as His deputy. This was also the logical development of the growth of temporal tendencies in Muslim thought, particularly during the reign of the Indo-Turkish Sultans. Barani's views, in this respect, resemble the views of Nizām-ul-Mulk and Al Ghazzāli, the two great Muslim thinkers.

Barani wanted that a King should not only reign but rule as well. To him kingship essentially entailed control and sovereignty. Sovereignty might be obtained through inheritance or conquest. If the King was not fully empowered to do what he pleased then his sovereignty was not complete. He did not deserve to be called a King, for he who wielded the power was the King. The King should consult his ministers but form his own independent judgment. He must enjoy extraordinary power and prestige. He should possess a sound balance of mercy and might. He should live in grace and comfort but should not be an ease-loving person. He must command the confidence of his people and it was possible only through high resolve and generosity. Barani wanted a King to understand the proper value of his time. He should divide his time in a way as might serve the interests of the 'True Faith' and the welfare of his kingdom. He must behave in a responsible manner and never tell a lie or deceive anybody. In no case should he resort to unbecoming harshness or patronise any cruel person. He should organise a sound army, base his kingdom on sound economic footing, appoint spies and be very particular about administration. He should be an embodiment of justice as justice was the highest tribute to sovereignty.

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Barani was a staunch advocate of a strong and efficient administration. To quote him "people should not obey an impotent ruler, nor should they pay him Jizyah or Kharāj". Barani was even prepared to allow the violation of *Sharī'ah* for the sake of strong administration, which is the first condition for the welfare of the masses. He also prescribed a system of State Laws (*Zawābit*). Defining a State Law, Barani wrote "A State Law in the technique of administration means a rule of action which the King has imposed as an obligatory duty upon himself for realising the welfare of the State and from which he never deviates." In case of a clash between the State Laws, and Sharī'ah, Barani tried to evolve a formula of compromise. He was of the opinion that the enforcement of such laws come under the category of the Sharī'ah precept, 'Necessities make lawful things forbidden.'[9]

Barani keenly emphasised the need of a strong and well-organised army. "Kingship is army and army is Kingship", wrote Barani. He believed that the army was the life-blood of both administration and conquest, which were the two pillars of Kingship. He is the only historian of his age who cared to write about the organisation of the army. The army was organised on decimal system. A 'Ser-i-Khail', according to him, should command ten efficient horsemen, a 'sipāhsalār' ten ser-i-Khails', an 'Amīr' ten 'Sipāhasalār's, a 'Mālik' ten Amīrs, a 'Khān', ten Māliks and a King at least ten 'Khāns'. Thus the strength of the army of a king should not be less than one million horsemen. Barani knew that the maintenance of such a vast army was not possible without resorting to extraordinary measures. He solved this problem by setting the example of Sultan 'Alā'ud-dīn Khalji's economic reforms. Thus he suggested that a King could have a vast army at a low cost by reducing the prices of commodities.

Socio-Economic Ideas

Barani divided Indian society into two parts, viz., the High-born (*Sharīf*) and the Low-born (*Razil*). The first group

9. Muhammad Habib: *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 65.

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consisted of the foreign aristocracy, largely persons of Turkish origin and few Persians, Arabs, Abyssinians and Egyptians. This group had monopolised all the high offices of the state and hated all other persons, i.e., Indian Muslims, Hindus and all others. He strongly believed that the only criterion of judging the noble or ignoble character of a man was the family in which he is born. It was not possible for human beings to alter bounds of good and evil. So the persons of high origin alone deserved all offices of the State. The veins of a noble-born should start shrinking at the very sight of a man of low birth. Barani conceived these ideas as ideal in the personality of Bālban. An attempt to promote the low-born people was always futile, for it was an attempt to challenge the wisdom of the Creator. Barani amplified this idea by attributing the failure of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's reign to the appointment of base and low-born officers. To nip the evil in the bud Barani advocated that education be prohibited to lower orders, for education would make them efficient and capable. To quote him, "Teachers of every kind should be sternly ordered not to thrust precious stones down the throats of dogs or to put collars of gold round the necks of pigs and bears." Thus Barani wanted to monopolise not only all the offices of the State but education as well for a group of high-ups to which he himself belonged.

Barani's social ideas are the weakest spot in his character. With a few variations, observes Professor Habib, Barani's social ideas resembled the caste system of Hindus.[10] He had to pay a heavy price for these ideas even during his own life-time. As already discussed Barani owed his fall to the advent of Khān-i-Jahan Maqbūl, who was a Hindu convert to Islam. Barani's attempts to secure royal favour proved futile only because it was not in keeping with the wishes of the all-powerful minister who hated him because of his contempt for Hindu converts.[11]

The economic ideas of Barani are much more balanced. He observed that "Wealth and disobedience are just like twins". He

10. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

11. A. A. Rizvi: *The History of the Early Turkish Rule in India* (Hindi), pp. 109, 110.

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fully recognised the danger that could arise from the accumulation of wealth at a place other than the state treasury. Still he did not wish that the State should blindly fleece the people. He was a great admirer of people of charitable disposition but also mentioned that "even God did not befriend the extravagant." He advised the kings that they should not allow misappropriation of the wealth of the state; still he was against the award of capital punishment or even the physical torture to such people as who stole from the state treasury. So it can be said that Barani believed in the middle path policy in regard to the economic affairs.

Religious Ideas

Barani left no stone unturned to prove that Islam was the be-all and end-all of human life. "We have only created Jinns and men so that they may worship us", quoted Barani from the Qur'an. In all his works, which are available to us, Barani constantly repeated his ideas about the role of religion in society. Examples from *Na't-i-Muhammadi* need not be quoted as it is a thoroughly religious book and except a few personal references, contains the praise of prophet Mohammad. On the early pages of his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi,* we find Bālban talking about the principles of Islam. We can gather some of Barani's views about religion from his report of the talk of Nūruddīn Mubārak Gaznavi to Iltutmish which Bālban listened and reproduced in his own court later. He said that a king should not allow the Muslims to do un-Islamic deeds, throughout his kingdom. He should make the crimes more bitter even than the poison so that the offenders of Faith may feel ashamed of themselves. However, if it is not possible to root out the sins fully, at least these should not be allowed to be committed openly. The sinners should be induced to hate the sins so that they may try to improve themselves.

Assessment as a Historian

Barani was a prolific writer. After attaining the age of sixtynine, he wrote about eight books. Six of them, according to Amīr Khurd were *Sanā-i Muhammadi, Salāt-i-Kabīr, 'Ināyat Nāma-i Ilāhi, Ma'āsir-i Sādāat, Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* and *Hasrat*

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Nāmā.[12] *Fatāwā–i Jahāndari* and *Tārīkh–i Barāmikah* were also written by Barani. Three, out of the six books mentioned by Amīr Khurd, are not available. Besides *Tārīkh–i Firūz Shāhi* and *Sanā–i Muhammadi* only a few portions of *Hasrat Nāma*, which were incorporated in *Sawāt–'ul–Anwār* are available in the manuscript section of the Commonwealth Library of Great Britain.[13] Only three of his books have so far been published. They are *Tārikh–i–Baramikah*, lithographed in Bombay, *Tārīkh–i Firūz Shāhi*, edited by Syed Ahmad Khan for Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1862, and later by Professor S. A. Rashid for the Aligarh Muslim University, and *Fatāwā–i–Jahāndari* translated into English by Dr. (Mrs.) Khan and edited by Professor Habib, under the title of *'The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate.'*

However, Barani's fame as a historian rests chiefly upon his *Tārīkh–i Firūz Shāhi* which " bears the imprint of his great scholarship. " He attached great importance to the study of history. Like Bacon, he believed that history makes men wise and they learn from the experience of others in the past. As history contains the noble actions of the Prophet and other personalities of the True Faith, as well as the evil deeds of others, naturally it enables men to distinguish good from the evil. Thus Barani, like most of his contemporary Muslim writers, essentially conceived history 'to have a didactic religious purpose.' He believed that the most valuable offering that a man could make to his contemporaries was a true and significant account of the past, which was a battle-ground between the good and the evil. In his *Tārīkh–i–Firūz Shāhi*, Barani has tried to embody all his ideals. He presented each reign as 'one act morality play' and took pains to enable the coming generations to draw morals from it. Barani admired Bālban for his sound knowledge of the duties of a Sultān, but did not idealise him for he placed political expediency above adherence to the *Sharī'ah*. A rule like his could succeed outwardly but could not rise to the lofty status of perfection. In the reign of Mui'zzud-dīn Kayqubād (1287–1290) Barani was able to get an opportunity

12. Amīr Khurd: *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13.

13. *Ethe, The List Of Hand-written Persian Books*, No: 654 (23), The Commonwealth Library, London.

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of showing how the neglect of royal duties and devotion to wine, women and song could destory even an illustrious family like that of Bālban. Again he dealt with the reign of Sultan Jalāluddīn Khalji with due admiration, but attributed his fall to the murder of Sidi Maula and his inability to follow the precepts of Barani for strong administration. The successful reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji presented a problem before Barani. For Barani depicted him as fundamentally wicked; he feared lest people should be misguided by his success in the field of economy and imperialism. He, however, adopted an unscientific approach instead of strictly adhering to his principle of moralizing history, and attributed this success to the presence of Shaikh Nizāmuddin Auliya in the realm of Chiṣti Saints. He presented the reaction of 'Ālauddin's misdeeds in the reign of his son, Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh Khalji. The evils of father mixed with the licentious and irresponsible behaviour, which included the promotion of Khusrau Khan, a low-born Hindu convert, on the part of the son, produced such evil results, that they led to the tragic end of the Khalji dynasty.

Barani introduced a new element, the role of destiny in history, when he failed to explain things in terms of his philosophy of history. This he did in the case of Sultan Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq (1320–1325) to explain the undeserved end of the Sultan. Finding no serious flaw in the character of the Sultan, he described the event leading to his death. 'A thunder-bolt of heavenly calamity fell upon the people of the earth'. To deal with the complex drama of the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, he adopted a different approach. Instead of writing a detailed account, he only wrote a thesis based on the events of this reign, so that he could make the conclusions easy. In spite of all the bright aspects of the Sultan's character, the reign proved a failure because the Sultan lacked in the proper judgment of men and movements and his association with the philosphers, which led to the undertaking of the haphazard plans, shedding the blood of Muslims and the appointment of unworthy persons to the offices of responsibility. As regards the reign of Sultan Firūz Tughlaq (1351–1388), he could write the account of its early six years only. He believed that Sultan Firūz Shāh was an ideal ruler and worthy of imitation

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by other Sultans in future. He went to the extent of calling it heaven on earth.

Barani succeeded in giving a practical shape to his philosophy of History. He firmly believed that history was a perfect science and a historian must be very scientific while dealing with it. Not taking into account his personal feelings, he must be objective and truthful in his approach. While describing the noble, virtuous and plausible traits of the character of a Sultan, he must not conceal his drawbacks and defects. However, if for one reason or another, it was not possible for him to write the facts openly, he should try to convey his ideas through implications and suggestions so that the wise might understand the truth. For him, the task of a historian was of paramount importance and responsibility because the history written by him is not based on evidence (*Sanad,* documentary proofs). History is reliable only when it is written by a reliable person. Modern scholars of Medieval Indian History, with few exceptions, consider Barani truthful and reliable. Indian history from 1266 to 1356 A.D. has largely been written on the basis of *Tārīk̲h–i Firūz Shāhi.* Beside the general histories of Medieval India by British and Indian Scholars, the specialised monographs like Nizami's *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics during the 13th Century,* Habibullah's *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India,* K. S. Lal's *History of the Khaljis,* Ishwari Prasad's *A History of Qaraunah Turks in India,* Mahdi Hussain's *Tughlaq Dynasty,* and *The Cambridge History of India* Vol. III are to a large extent based on Barani, supplemented by quasi–historical works of other contemporary writers and foreign travellers.

Barani was not, however, always truthful. On a few occasions he did betray symptoms of partiality, and subjectivity. Professor Dowson, trusting the account of Firishta, found Barani guilty of concealing some of the Mongol inroads in the time of 'Alauddin K̲halji and "the atrocious means of perfidy and murder, by which Muhammad Tug̲hlaq obtained the throne."[14] Lane Poole suspected

14. Elliot and Dowson: *History of India As Told By Its Own Historians,* Vol. III, p. 95.

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Barani's account of the 'Council', which, according to Barani, sat for many days and nights in the reign of 'Alauddin Khalji to discuss the causes of the recurring revolts. Dr. Hardy goes a step further and declares all the 'dialogues', reported by Barani, unauthentic, because, according to him, Barani was neither a tape recorder nor a 'Cabinet Secretary'.[15] To quote him, "A comparison of the *Tārīkh-Firūz Shāhi* and Barani's *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndari* suggests that the sentiments uttered were Barani's rather than those of the persons to whom they were ascribed — that they were expositions of Barani's theories of government as expounded at greater length in the *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndari*."

We can defend Barani against some of these charges by taking into account the age and circumstances in which he worked. Evidently he was writing this history for presenting it to Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughluq after whose name it was written. In such circumstances he could not openly describe the cause of the death of Sultan Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Tughlaq which was a serious blot on the character of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, the cousin of Firūz. But he vaguely suggested that incident through a significant remark: 'A thunderbolt of heavenly calamity (*bala-i asmani*) fell upon the people of the earth.' This remark left ample space for doubt and could be interpreted in more than one fashion. As regards the dialogues and monologues cited by Barani, this was the prevalent style of writing in medieval times. The authors felt that it rendered their account effective and interesting. It is evident from the narratives of Amir Khusro, 'Isāmi and Ibn Batūta. "Therefore, to reject every 'Dialogue and monologue' of Barani because he was neither a 'tape recorder' nor a 'Cabinet Secretary' would be foolhardy."[16] We must study Barani in the light of the age in which he worked, because if we judge the historians of Medieval India by the modern criterion, none of them can be trusted. After all history is a relative science. Howsoever hard a historian may try, it is not possible for him to shun his

15. *Bulletin of The School of Oriental And African Studies*, 1957, pp. 315-321.

16. K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 258.

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personal views and make history completely objective. Barani also had his likes and dislikes. The conditions under which he worked have already been indicated. He had neither a library nor other resources. It was beyond his power to undertake any research or investigation or even make sure about the dates and facts. He had nothing but his pen, ink, paper and memory, burdened with personal tragedy. Because of these factors he certainly forgot many important events. But it should not be taken to mean that whatever he wrote and remembered is not true and reliable.

Style

The style of Barani, unlike the ornamental account of Hassan Nizāmi and the dry style of Minhāj, is simple, graphic and suggestive. His Persian prose style which is simple, direct and effective, invariably leaves a remarkable impression on the mind of the reader. Barani's wit and sardonic humour helped him to sum up his ideas in a few words. His following remark about the effect of the economic reforms of Alauddin Khalji: "a camel could be had for a dang, but wherefrom a dang" is a typical example of his tactfulness. Again when he says that Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish used to remark in his court "When I see these great nobles standing before me, I feel inclined to come down from the throne and kiss their hands and feet." This single remark throws more light on the relations between Illtutmish and his nobles than the full volume of Minhājuddīn Sirāj.

Barani, besides his historical narration, also created some fascinating characters. He was the unrivalled master of this art. He has described the nobles of Sultan Ghiyāsuddīn Bālban in such beautiful way that each of them seems to excel the other in noble birth, munificence and bravery. At some places he himself was so much fascinated by some of his own creations that he forsook all limits proposed over himself and extolled it to heaven. Similarly when he condemned he wrote with his pen dipped in acid. Nevertheless his character-sketches are excellent.

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Subject Matter

Barani conceived history not as a mere account of the kings and captains. His views about history, though not as comprehensive as those of Ibn Khaldūn, are more socio-economic than politico-military. He took pains to give the long lists of social and economic reforms of the rulers, of prices obtaining in the market, of revenue regulations, assessment and collection of revenue, government servants. poets, historians and medical men — indeed everything that a modern historian would think fit to write. According to Professor Dowson, "Barani's work approaches more nearly to the European idea of a history than anyone which has yet come under notice".[17] His reference to the clothes, fruits, sweets and other sundry articles of the day throw a flood of light on the social and economic conditions of the fourteenth century. Another factor which lifts Barani much higher than his contemporaries is his extraordinary care for state laws, system of justice, revenue policy, administration and public welfare. Some misunderstanding about him have occurred due to the special idioms used by him. For a proper understanding of his writings it is essential to understand his terminology. For example, the word 'Hindu' often stands for cultivator. Again when he writes that the taxes in the Doab were raised to ten to twenty times by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, he only means increasing it over much.

Barani was essentially in the habit of interpreting all things in terms of religion. Though he laid down in his preface that religious bigotry is very dangerous for a historian, yet he failed to check himself from falling a prey to this flaw. However, his bigotry also is of some advantage to history. For example, when he wrote that the Sultans should not allow the Hindus to live a life of comfort, it denotes in other words that the life of the Hindus during the Sultanate period was not quite uncomfortable. Again, when he said that the Sultan should force the people to act according to the *Sharī'ah*, it meant that the society was not

17. Elliot and Dowson; *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Preface, p. vill.

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acting according to the *Sharī'ah* and the fear of the king was needed for its enforcement.

Barani held a high opinion of his *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* and believed that he had surpassed the Iranian historians. He lamented that there was no one to admire his accomplishment as a historian. We may or may not agree with Barani's claim, still he remains the foremost historian of his age.

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The Crown of the Taj

BY

RAMESH CHANDRA SHARMA

The crowning feature of the Tāj — the *kalaś*, the actual plan of which is laid down in black stone in front of the dummy mosque or the *Jamātkhānā*, deserves closer attention than has so far been paid to it, not because of the fact — as will be pointed out by any guide, that water oozes out of it if one strikes with one's fist at the stone, but because of its intrinsic quality as an art motif, and also to dispel a recent claim that its pinnacle consists of the *Trishul — trident* — "the symbol of Chandramauli-shwar (Siva)."[1]

Without indulging in any generalities,[2] let us examine the important parts of the *kalaś* of the Tāj.

1. P. N. Oak, *The Taj Mahal is a Hindu Palace* (Bombay 1968) 176 & 178.

2. As Mr. H. I. S. Kanwar (Delhi) has informed me the *kalaś* originally was of pure gold and measured 11 yards Shāhjahānī, that is to say, 28 ft. 10 inches approximately, in height. (M. A. Chaghtai, *The Description of the Taj Mahal*, Lahore, 1957 p. 6). However, the height of the *kalaś* at present crowning the central dome of the Tāj, comes to 30 ft. 5.4 inches, in the ground plan, as measured by me with the Mota Steel tape. This is close to the height given by Muhammad Moinuddin Ahmad (*Taj and its Environs* Agra, 1924), p. 41; and by the' Archaeological 'Survey of India which as Mr. Kanwar wrote to me, is 30 ft. 61 inches. On page 62 of his book Moinuddin Ahmad writing about the *kalaś* says that "on its lowest part is inscribed the first formula of the Moslem faith. The spire has lost its gold coating, the copper only of which it is made is left bare. This is quite interesting in view of the pinnacle at present crowning the Tāj being of gilt and bearing the name of Lt. Col. Taylor who repaired it in the nineteenth century. On the basis of this Mr. Kanwar's suggestion that the original pinnacle of Shāhjahān's time was replaced at some later date, seems to be quite correct. But, in my opinion, the design of the original was preserved in the replacement, because its ground plan in black stone in front of the *Jamātkhāna* appears to be of the same age as the Tāj itself, as the black stone used for it is of the same variety as used elsewhere in the Tāj.

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The lowest member of the *kalaś* — 'a' in the figure, represents the bell motif, so familiar in Indian art, being invariably used for capital in Aśokan pillars.

The third part of the *kalaś* — 'b' in the figure, depicts the common Persian motif of the wine flask. True, its shape is not exactly like that of a usual wine flash, as, for example, one notices in the paintings in I'tīmāduddaulah's tomb, rather appears to be a modified version of the ordinary Indian clay pitcher.

The sixth constituent of the crown of the Tāj — 'c' in the figure, is clearly the crescent, the obvious symbol of Islam.

However, the most important part of the *kalaś* is its top-most member — 'd' in the figure. It is a purely Hindu motif and represents a *mangalkalaś,* a small clay pitcher full of water with mango leaves and a coconut on its mouth, without which no Hindu ceremonial can take place. Of course, the different parts of this member of the *kalaś* do not resemble an ordinary *mangalkalaś,* for the leaves are too large and pointed — 'e' in the figure, the coconut too sharply pointed — 'g' in the figure, and the neck of the pitcher rather longish — 'f' in the figure.

The significance of this feature of the Tāj is very great as depicting the national character of its architecture and conception. But features like this one should not be used to make out of it a Hindu palace or temple, for the Tāj, as a joint product of Muslim taste and Hindu spirit, Muslim supervision and largely Hindu execution, deserves our genuine pride and careful attention.

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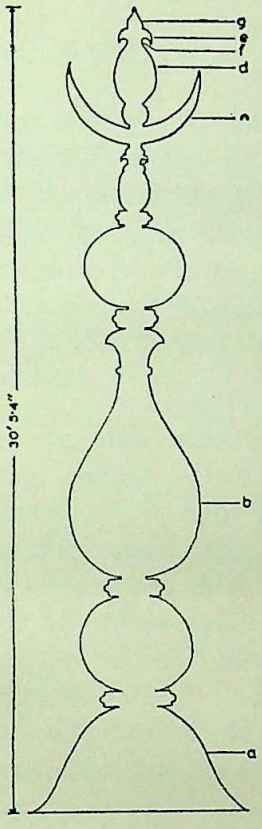

THE CROWN OF THE TAJ

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Some Portuguese Sources on Malik Ambar

BY

B. G. TAMASKAR

This paper incorporates the Portuguese sources on Malik Ambar, saviour of the Nizāmshāhī Kingdom who attempted to save the latter from falling into the hands of Akbar and Jahangir. The materials were obtained with the kind courtesy of Prof. P. S. Pissurlencar, from the Portuguese Archives at Goa.[1] The Portuguese sources on Malik Ambar and his times, published by other scholars including Prof. P. S. Pissurlencar, have been omitted here, as they are available elsewhere.

The Portuguese settlements in India constituted essentially a maritime dominion, covering a commercial monopoly. Their power was based on the occupation of a few scattered coastal places through which their sea-borne and inland trade was conducted. These places also served to maintain their adequate naval power to encounter and throw any other maritime rival. From this stand-point, Goa had excellent site and situation, which fell into their possession in February, 1510 A.D. Besides Goa, the Portuguese had set up trading stations at Cochin (1503), Cannanore (1503), Chaul (1516), Diu (1535), Bassein (1558) and Daman (1559). Other Portuguese settlements on the western littoral of India were Sālsette (styled 'Sastī' in Marathi.), Dābhol, Thānā, Kāranjā, Bārdesh, Cucullee, Verundā, Mangalore, Honāvar, Crānganore and Quilon.[2]

1. Translated by Shri Fausto P. Gomes and revised by Rev. Antonio D'Costa, S.J., Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay. I express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the Nagpur University for the travel grant sanctioned to me for the translation of the Portuguese Sources on Malik Ambar.

2. J. N. Dasgupta: *India in the Seventeenth Century*, Appendix C.

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Chaul was the solitary trading station well within the Nizāmshāhī dominion which brought Malik Ambar into close and intimate contact with the Portuguese in India. From other trading stations also, lying on the outward fringes of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, namely, Bassein, Diu Daman, Sālsette, Thānā, Karanja and Dābhol, stemmed their dealings and relations with Malik Ambar and affected their policy and attitude towards him from time to time.

The Portuguese viewed with fear and suspicion the southward expansion of the Mughal Power in India, under Akbar and Jahāngīr, which aimed at the extinction and annexation of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom. The imperialistic designs of the Mughals drew the Portuguese close to Malik Ambar, the Ādilshāhis of Bijāpūr and the Kutbshāhis of Golcondā whenever it served their self-interest to do so.

The following document reveals how Chaul prospered as a trade centre at the cost of Diu prior to Malik Ambar's regime:

" Trade has passed from Diu to Chaul because Nizamalco (Nizam-ul-Mulk) gave free access from and exit to the sea while increasing the duties on inland trade. This facility draws away the trade thither and this has to be stopped. This can be done by making the trade return to Diu as before, when it was not permissible to pass goods through Chaul, and this (course) would be the best of all."[3]

From the following documents, it can be gleaned that the Portuguese fortifications at Bassein made a slow progress, whereas Malik Ambar completed the fortifications at 'Morro' to their detriment:

" It appears to me that I ought to ask you to attend to the fortifications of the fort of Bassein. I am informed that the work proceeds slowly by reason of the irregularities which were being committed till now in the manner of spending the sum of one

3. Archiva Portuguese Oriental, Fas. 3, VII, p. 107, dated the 13th March, 1588.

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percent which is earmarked for the purpose. You should attend seriously to this fortification in the present circumstances, when I am also informed that *Melique has constructed a fort at the near Chaul, (before* 1594 *A.D.) and that his officers have seized the occasion to plunder the lands and villages of the city of Bassein.* You must try and remedy this matter."[4]

"I am told that *the fort which Melique (Malik) built at the Morro of Chul, of which you have given me an account, constitutes such a serious danger to the security of our northern forts that it is sound policy to get it demolished or to capture it.* And I trust that by the time ships arrive there you will have already taken possession of it. And if you have not done so, I require you most earnestly to try and occupy it. In this way we shall obtain the fort, and by possessing it we shall render secure all our other neighbouring forts. And I approve of the steps you have taken to prevent Idalco (Ādilkhān) from engaging in hostilities against us, after coming to know that Melique (Malik) was instigating him to do so. That is the way you should always deal with him."[5]

"It is a very serious matter that Melique (Malik) has constructed a fortress at the Morro of Chaul which is well fortified and provided with powerful artillery. Thereby that fort of ours (Chaul) is so completely surrounded and hemmed in that I am told no ship however light can enter in at the large bar without danger of being sunk. This subject, about which you have given me a succinct account, I have dealt with in another letter in which I require you with all the earnestness which the *affair demands either to get this fortress demolished or to capture it,* employing every possible means for the purpose. And if you have not done so by the time these ships arrive there, I trust you will act even if you are obliged to lead an expedition, with due caution and a sufficient force, so that we are not left in a state of danger.

4. *Ibid.*, Fasciculo 3, Vol. II.
5. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 162, IX, p. 477, dated Feb. 18, 1595.

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And as the question of you yourself leading an expeditionary force against the fort of the Morro is a serious one and needs to be carefully considered. You should discuss it in Council with all the nobles and persons of experience who are wont to be summoned to the meetings of the Council in similar circumstances. You should take the opinions of all those present at the meeting in writing, and immediately put into effect the resolution which is adopted. Inform me by post of the opinions and especially what action you have taken. *I hope you will expedite this matter in the manner which the safety of the fortress of Chaul and the others depending on it, as well as the reputation of our Government, demand.* If you act in this I shall be well served by you."[6]

The Portuguese were perturbed at the unsettled and chaotic conditions obtaining early in 1597 A.D. in the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, while Emperor Akbar's forces had penetrated into the northern frontiers of the Kingdom. The Portuguese in India tried to effect a coalition of the rulers of the Deccan against the rising tide of the Mughal imperialism:

"Similarly I am told that Amaro da Rocha who was sent as an ambassador to Melique (Malik) (writes) that there were many upheavals and disturbances in his territory, and he learnt the same from other persons of credit. And it was said that there were three Kings who had agreed to rebel. This might offer an opportunity to the Mughal to seize that kingdom, as he has done others, and I am informed that he is already trying to do so. I therefore require you to do all you can to keep the kingdom in a state of peace, as indeed I hope you have done after your arrival, because *it would create a serious problem for us if the said Mughal were to conquer it.*"[7]

"The Viceroy writes to me that since many years *the Mughal has been thinking of making himself Universal Ruler of these regions of India* and hoping for a more favourable occasion to implement his designs. He acted as soon as he heard of the fierce

6. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 168, pp. 502-3, dated Feb. 26, 1595.
7. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 240, XXIV; p. 691, dated Feb., 1957.

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wars which were going on in the kingdom of Melique (Malik), and spread out through all those regions the huge military force which accompanied him, so that the minds of all were in suspense. The Viceroy remarks that he anticipated this *many days before*, and tried to arrange *a league between Melique (Malik), Idalza (Ādilśāh), Cotamaluco (Kutb-mulk) and other kings of that region.* He sent ambassadors for the purpose, and ultimately himself went to the North, in order by the move to delay the advance of the Mughals, till these rulers, should have time to collect their forces. I consider myself very well served that he acted thus; given that the matter was so urgent, I request you most earnestly to employ every means to unite these kings so that *they may as one body frustrate the designs of the Mughal, for it is something on which depends the peace and security of our dominions.* I should advise you to proceed in the matter of this league with due care and circumspection. For you are to see that *the league is perpetuated and also not given offence to and alienate the Mughal, nor afford him an excuse to turn his arms against our fortresses.* In another letter too, which goes by this same post, I am writing to you on the subject of the Mughal, because there is always something more to say."[8]

"You also tell me that after arriving in India you continued to persuade Idalco (Adil Khān) how necessary it was for him to give up his amusements, trying to convince him by arguments how certain was his ruin if he did not go to the aid of Melique (Malik).[9] And you say that you found his subjects, and they were many, in agreement with you, and those of them who are in the neighbourhood of this island of Goa are in good relations with us, Kings. I thank you very sincerely for your fine care and tact. For many are influenced more in this prudent and tactful way than in other ways which yield poor results."[10] "Since the Mughal has been waging a victorious war against the kingdoms of the Deccan because the kingdom of Melique (Malik) is ill-protected

8. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 304, II, p. 801-802, dated Jan. 8, 1598.
9. *Ibid.*, Fas. 364, IX, p. 924, dated Nov. 21, 1598.
10. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 365, XXII, p. 929, dated Nov. 21, 1598.

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and rent with dissensions, and the neighbouring kings do not want to unite in spite of all your efforts to get them to do so, it would not be advisable to divest our dominions of a large force."[11]

The document cited below throws light on the hostilities between the Portuguese and the Muslims at Chaul and Bassein in the year, 1613 A.D.

"Events which occurred in the winter (rainy season) of the year 1613 at Chaul and Bassein, in the wars with Malik (Amber)."

We kept the cities and forts of Chaul and Bassein well supplied with men, through Nuno da Cunha when Viceroy Dom Hieronyno sent him with all the necessary provisions for the continuation of this war. In Chaul the Portuguese were so enthusiastic about the war that they were taking the field more out of pleasure than necessity, even when, as happened on some days, there were no Muslims about. And in a way they regretted this, wishing to be engaged in continuous skirmishes with them, because they used to get the upper hand as a matter of course. The joy of it is great, particularly, in those who believe that it will not be costly and fight for a just cause, with the assurance that if they lose their life they will gain it for ever. Hence, though they go forth to death, wounds and dangers of the sea, which ordinarily await even the victors, there is none who will hold back and think of the price that it is going to cost him.

However, the strategy which Dom Manuel de Azevedo employed in these wars and always with good success, was that of lying in ambush. With the result that the enemies were on their part so cautious that rarely did they follow our soldiers when they withdrew; so fearfully careful had they become in every way. Notwithstanding this, on many occasions they were caught in the very traps which they were trying to avoid, because the captain-general conducted the war with most extraordinary skill. No less was the damage he caused them by way of the rivers where the captain-general, Antonio Serrao, with six manchuas so distressed them that in all the surrounding region there were very

11. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 366, I, pp. 933-934, dated Dec. 10, 1598.

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few inhabitants left, because most of them were either killed or taken prisoners. In like manner he brought in no mean quantity of livestock, which was of particular help to provide food for the whole garrison and all the people of the city, because with these wars there was such a terrible shortage of necessaries that they were giving to the sick and wounded in the hospital buffalo for subsistence, which is meat so heat-generating that it indisposes even healthy persons who eat it.

One day during this winter (rainy season), 1,500 Muslims lay in wait in the thicket which was at the foot of the fort of the Morro, which the Portuguese had allowed to grow for the serious need they had of firewood, and as a result the place is thick with tall bushes and groves. Upon our soldiers opening the door of the fort of the Morro in the morning to send to the city, as usual, in search of necessaries, those at the gate stood guard, noted that the servants were hesitating very much to get into the boat. They informed the commander of the fort, Francisco de Faria de Caldes, about it, and he sent some soldiers to see what was the reason for their hesitation. They issued forth armed with muskets and the Portuguese became aware of the large number of Muslims who discharged their muskets against the latter all at once, and as a result, many were wounded. Our soldiers discharged their muskets against the Muslims and ran towards the fort, shouting that there were many Muslims. The Portuguese went up to the niches of the battlement in order to have a look at them, but were subjected to such a musket fire that none dared to show himself, and as the terrain there is very steep, it was impossible to fire a single shot at the enemy from the wall. Then the captain of the Fort ordered Joao Barbosa Calheiros to issue forth with his company in good order. He did as he was told, but as the Muslims were so many, that at the first discharge they wounded seven or eight of our soldiers.

However, Joao Barbosa, as he was an old and experienced soldier, continued within the shelter of the fort, without giving the Muslims any opportunity to outflank him, notwithstanding all their efforts to do so. Rather he persisted under the shelter of the walls of the fort, sending the wounded inside and keeping the enemy occupied till another company went to his help. And they

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both engaged the Muslims, firing and being fired against. The company of the commandar of the fort remained all the while in reserve, because there was a regulation that it should never take the open field.

The men of the city of Chaul heard and saw the engagement that was taking place at the Morro, and immediately all those, who could be quickly boarded upon the *manchuas,* made for the beach of the Morro in order to help, and with them came Dom Manuel de Azevedo himself. Thereupon the Muslims took the field on the side of Chaul and sounded the signal for attack in order to draw us away, so that we might not be able to go to the help of the Morro, or at least not in such force. But for all that, the *manchuas* went ahead with their oars working at full speed, and when the Muslims at the Morro saw them coming, they began to withdraw faster than the others were approaching. As a result the artillery of the Morro got an opportunity to strike at the Muslims, who withdrew completely demoralised. In this manner, those, who came and lay in wait in the thicket in order to kill the Portuguese from this place of vantage, were themselves killed in that very thicket by the Portuguese. Such is often the outcome of human affairs, when men seek to harm one another."[12]

The following excerpt contains some details about the civil strifes at Chaul and Bassein and the evaluatiin of palm trees and orchards at Chaul in 1617 A.D. and a reference to the naval expedition led by Malik Ambar against the English at Surat:

"The hatred with which the Portuguese pursue one another, more so in this territory than in all other parts, is too well known to and realised by all the other nations, as also the harm that this has done us. For, in consequence of it we have missed great opportunities and incurred serious losses. Things came to such a pass in the cities of Chaul and Bassein in the winter (rainy season) of 1617, and particularly in Bassein, and also in the smaller areas of Tārāpor, Thāṇā and wherever the Portuguese were residing, that on a certain day many were killed by musket shots without regard or fear of earthly or heavenly justice.

12. Antonio Bocarro: *Decadas,* Ch. XXV.

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Rather, in Bassein trenches were dug, the streets blocked and occupied, and soldiers were hired, there being no lack of them on such occasions. Those whom the Muslims failed to kill in the last wars, now, consumed one another, losing simultaneously their honour and property, and what is more sad, their souls.

The two ringleaders who were inciting this strike in Bassein were Fernao de Miranda on the one hand and Andre de Abreu on the other.

Serious complaints about this state of affairs reached the Viceroy, with a request to provide a remedy in keeping with the gravity of the situation. He placed the matter before the Council, and its was decided to despatch a magistracy because His Majesty had ordained that no magistrate of Goa was to be entrusted with powers to pass sentence of death against nobles, knights and members of the court nobility, unless he himself conferred such power on the Viceroy, in order that, with the judges of the Court, he might decide the cases in keeping with the demands of justice. Having discussed the evil consequences which would follow, if the magistracy were not to be armed with all the powers which had been conferred on it in the past, if not still greater powers in view of the enormous excesses that were being perpetrated, it was decided to commission them to pass death sentences on all except nobles of known quality. The reason being that His Majesty was not well informed of the long delay incurred by requiring them to come to Goa to have the sentences confirmed. For they only used to sail with the fleet, and in the company of merchant vessels. Besides, the places of custody and prisons were very insecure, and the men here bent on the evil design of breaking through them and getting friends and relatives to break through them. The result would be that they would not only escape the punishment they deserved but even turn into worse homicides than before and the law would be less respected and feared. It was decided to write to His Majesty about it, representing to him the state of affairs.

Thus, Domingos Cardoso de Mello, the chief criminal judge of Goa was appointed to go North with magisterial powers, together with Dom Pedro de Azevedo who was also appointed Captain

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General of the expedition as he had been thither in that role the preceding summer, and soon preparations were on foot for assembling a fleet and whatever else was necessary for this expedition.

It has been remarked above how the Viceroy did not evaluate the orchards and palmgroves of Chaul as this had been laid down in the peace treaties with Malique (Malik Ambar), at the time when he led a naval expedition against Surat. Melique had sent word to him to make the evaluation, and he could have done so then with great advantage to the vassals and the reputation of the State. But as it appeared to him that *he would do so with still greater advantages after defeating the English,* he put the matter off till his return. But this turned out to be quite different from what he had expected. He then ordered Luiz de Almada de Almeida, who, we said, had been sent by him as supervisor of finance to the North to make the evaluation of palmgroves and orchards. He was to employ two persons from our side who understood well how to evaluate these estates, and other two from the side of Melique. Then, if Melique wished to have the orchards and palm groves for the price at which they were valued, he was to pay the sums to the residents of Chaul, if not, they were to retain the properties with the obligation of paying the customary tax. The assessors were chosen, but as the Muslims believed that our fortunes had sunk very low, and it seemed to them that we had lost all power at sea, they wished to include in the evaluation the palm groves and orchards which extended from the straits of Regācaim (Revadāndā?) inwards up to below the artillery of the walls of the city. The Viceroy, being informed of this, did not agree, saying that these never belonged to Melique (Malik) since the foundation of the city, but had always belonged to its inhabitants. Then the value of most of the estates was assessed, and Melique (Malik) claimed them for himself, but did not pay their full value; rather he withheld it, and refused to pay much of it. The Portuguese who had married Indian women and settled at Chaul complained of this to the Viceroy, but he evaded them as best as he could, in order not have to start the war again. Thus, *it came about that our people remained without full compensation, because Melique (Malik Ambar) and all the other Kings of the East are accustomed to take advantge of it, when they see the fortunes of any State low and its position weak. They*

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have no regard for justice or right, and the only consideration that weighs with them is that of power."[13]

The political conditions of the Deccan and the Moghul empire in the year, 1619 A.D. are vividly and graphically depicted in the following excerpt:

"In conformity with what your Majesty told me to write in one of your letters of this year, I thought of giving you in this present letter a description of the Kings of these regions and the policy which each of them follows towards us, in order that your Majesty may be aware of it.

Last year, I wrote to your Majesty how the Mughal ruler Sahimoxa (Salim Ṣhāh) came at the time to Cambay (Gujrāt) to have a look (as people said) at the sea, which he had never seen before. His coming indeed caused me concern, because I did not know with what intention he was coming, and the force he brought along was large. However, his withdrawal soon after showed that our apprehensions were baseless and that he came merely to have a look at the sea. When he came, he brought along some of his sons and more than fifty-thousand cavalry, and many elephants and other domesticated animals. He visited some of his ports and maritime cities, and after passing a month and a half in this manner he turned back. After going a few days' journey, he experienced scarcity of water, for it was the height of summer, and on top of this, many of his people began to die. So he returned to Amedava (Ahmadābād) where he passed the last winter (rainy season). In September, he proceeded to Mandou (Mandū) which is also part of his kingdom; and there he finds himself at present.

This King is again on the verge of war with Nizamoxa (Nizāmshāh), the king of the Deccan. I inquired about the reason which moved him to it, and found that some rebels from Bālāgāte had crossed over into his territory and told him that there were in that Kingdom two fortresses called Doltabad (Daulatābād) and Doraq which were his mainstay, and the others depended on these

13. *Ibid.*, Ch. VLXXII.

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two. *If he should succeed in becoming the master of them, he would also be the master of the whole kingdom.* The Mughal, indeed, replied to these rebels that he was at peace with Melique (Malik) and it was, therefore, not proper to violate it. However, in keeping with the avarice of this Muslim, which is well known, he did not fail to seize the occasion. He told the rebels that in the first place he wished to send ambassadors to Melique (Malik), asking him to make over these two fortresses without the necessity of having a war between them, and if he refused to hand them over, he would make war on him. Accordingly he did send his ambassadors. Malieque (Malik) replied to them that as he had for neighbour Idalxa (Ādilshāh), who was a powerful king, it was only proper that *he should be brought into this negotiation.* He would first discuss the matter with him, and only then would he inform the Mughal about their common decision.

Thereupon the ambassador himself went to Visapor (Bijapur) to deal with Idalxa (Ādilshāh) on the subject of his embassy. On observing these delays, the Mughal was about to march into the Deccan with all his forces, but an ambassador of Idalxa (Ādilshāh) named Bichitarcão, who is posted to his court, intervened saying that it was not proper for such a powerful King to rush headlong because of such a small thing. He offered to go to the Bālāgāte (Bālāghāt) himself and treat of this matter with Idalxa (Adilshāh), saying he felt confident he could bring him to comply with his demand. With that, the Mughal quieted down, and the ambassador left to go and meet his King in order to bring about what he had promised; and (at the time of writing) he was still on the way.

Idalcao (Idalxa) (Ādilshāh) had written beforehand to Melique (Malik), that as the Mughal was pressing his demand so much and had sent an embassy for the purpose, so that it was evident he would not give up his demand, he was of the view that the two fortresses should be surrendered to him. In return he bound himself to give Melique (Malik) other fortresses of his own which would satisfy him. Melique (Malik), however, refused to agree to this, saying that *the Mughal was making fresh demands every day and would never be satisfied.* And there the matter remained without Melique (Malik) having taken any decision. But, it might be concluded that *Melique (Malik) Ambar will not*

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consent to it while he is alive, neither will the officers of King Melique (Malik). Rather they will violate the peace which has been made between the King and the Mughal, and will take the field again in greater strength, as they are being helped by Idalxa (Ādilshāh) and King Cotamaxa (Kutb Shāh) who *act like genuine friends and relatives in this matter.*

And as the policy of this Muslim, who is a bad neighbour and does not know how to live at peace, will always be detrimental to us, I am taking suitable steps. I have a spy at the court of Melique (Malik) whose task it is to influence the policies of these two rulers, Idalxa (Ādilshāh) and Nizamoxa (Nizāmshāh). And even though Idalxa (Adilshāh) is cowardly and timid, I shall endeavour to meet every situation in the manner, most conducive to Your Majesty's service, depending on my information of how this affair is developing.

The Mughal, it is said, had sent for some of his chief officers to take counsel with them on how to divide his kingdom, while he was alive, among his five sons. And it is said that he was determined to leave the eldest, who is called Sultan Cossors, (Khosro), enthroned or at least declared to be his heir, and he should have Dely (Delhi), to which are attached Agra and Lahore, which are the most important cities. With these cities would go the entire area of their jurisdiction. To the second son called Sultan Parues (Parwiz) he would leave Bengālla with whatever there is on that side. To the third son, who is Sultan Coromo (Khurram), the Kingdom of Cambay whose capital is Amadaua (Ahmadābād), and all that he has conquered in the Deccan and what he still intends to conquer of it; and I am told he has charged this very son with the task of conquering it, and also intends to leave him the former kingdom of King Mirān (of Berar?) and of Borampor (Burhānpur). And to the fourth son, who is called, Sultān Serier (Shahryār) the Kingdom of Cassimir (Kāshmir); and to the last, who is known as Sultan Tacata, (?) that of Panjaua (Punjab). And even though nothing of it has yet been decided, it is easy to see that if it were so, this division would be very advantageous to us, for the kingdom will be divided and there will be many masters, and it is said there will be many wars among them. *It will then be possible for King Melique (Malik) to recover the territories which were wrested from him.*

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This Mughal King is at peace with us and he observes the one which he recently signed with Viceroy Jeronimo D'Azavedo after the recent revolts. All the same one cannot trust the sincerity and word of these Kings; *they keep faith only when they cannot give effect to their evil designs*, all the more so since they are being incited by the English and the Dutch. And, now, only a few days ago, he took it very ill that we did not comply with his request to issue a pass to one of his ships which was due to sail from Goga to Mecca. I am giving a detailed account of this to Your Majesty in another letter which is going along with this one. I wish to make it clear nevertheless that there was no great change in his attitude towards us.

King Nizamoxa (Nizāmshāh) is still a youngster who is not yet 13 years old, and has *for his minister and commander-in-chief Melique (Malik) Ambar who has all the good and necessary qualities for this office*, and has till now faced the Mughal like a brave and enterprising general. Both of them are faithful in keeping the peace which exists between them and us. And I do not fail to correspond with them in like manner. And now I received a request from King Nizamoxa (Nizāmshāh) for permission to send one of his ships to the Port of Suaquem (?) *over and above the number (specified) in the agreement between us, and* to have horses fetched from the same port free of customs duty, and to convey a certain quantity of wood from his territory of Galiana (Kalyān) and Biundim (Bhivandī) by way of Bassein for the construction of a ship, which is being built in the port of Chaul. He alleged that Viceroys Jeronimo d'Azevedo and Rui Lourenco de Tavora had already granted this concession to him. I replied that even though they had granted him the permission, it was only at the cost of extensive violation of Your Majesty's ordinances and regulations, which I in my time was obliged to try to observe as exactly as possible. I told His Highness that he too would find this the right thing, for he knew that the Viceroys and Governors were under obligation to comply with your royal orders. I added that he would find in me a most certain (friend) in all that was in keeping with the treaties and regulations. With that I immediately issued the ordinary passes, and reserved some other matters which required (careful attention), so as to do him a favour without sacrificing our rights.

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In the wars which this King wages with the Mughal, as was said above, he ordinarily takes the field with more than *60,000 cavalry*, though, not all of them, are his. For Idalxa (Ādilshāh) has supplied him *25,000 paid at his own cost*, because he is himself very much concerned with protecting himself against the Mughal; and *King Cutubuxa (Kutbshāh) of Golconda also helps him with five or six thousand horses.*

Melique (Malik) Ambar finds himself with all this force encamped at a place called Quirquiri (Khadakī) near the fort of Doltabada (Daulatābād) which is at present the court of this King. *Till now Melique Ambar has fared well against Mughal and one may suppose that he will continue to do so in the future if the Deccanis, of whom his camp chiefly consists, remain loyal to him* and do not trust the Mughal to give effect to the farmāns which he sends them, promising them many favours.

In upper Chaul this King has at present as his tānadār and revenue official a Muslim by name Nabascao. He too discharges his duties well. A short while ago your Majesty's factor in the city of Chaul complained to me that *this tānadār was not duly paying the money collected from tributes.* I wrote to him expressing my surprise, and I understand he will mend his ways.

King Indalxa (Ādilshāh) the King who is in the immediate neighbourhood of this city of Goa, is at peace with us, and does all that one could wish to preserve it. He is very rich and wealthy, because, up till now, he has had no occasion to incur expenditure, and his principal head of expenditure is the force *he pays for the defence of the kingdom of Melique (Malik) against the Mughal*, as said above. He is very wary of the Mughal, both because he is naturally timid and shy of war and because he knows that, once the Mughal has penetrated into the kingdom of Nizamoxa (*Nizāmshāh*), he can no more be sure of his own kingdom.

It is many years now that he is on the throne, and his chief occupation is music to which he is very much given. And, thus, the musicians and singers eat up a great part of his revenues and exercise great influence over him. He transferred his court

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to a new city which he built and named as Nauraspor, and he has been residing there since, for eight or nine years. It is one league distant from Visapor (Bijāpur), where the Idalxas (Ādilshāhs) have always lived. They say he is raising fortifications against any eventuality of war.

Last summer, this King gave in marriage two of his daughters to the kings Nizamoxa (Nizāmshāh) and Cotubux (Kutbshāh) of Golconda, and sent them to their husbands with many a large retinue and nobles of repute and with many gifts for both. Thus, he has these two neighbouring kings as his sons-in-law, and this is advisable, at least, in view of the affairs of the Mughal, seeing that, in spite of all this, he is very powerful.

In Pondā, (Phondā) in place of Xerife Melique (Sharif Malik) who is now dead, Mirzamamedo Hady (Mirzā Mohmmad Hādī) is governor of the Konkan. He is the son of Āgā Rājā, the governor of Dabul (Dābhol). He is a young Muslim of very bad character and ruinous to his people, because of the violence he does to married women, and other things of the sort. But, in his policy towards us, he conducts himself well and up till now, has not done anything that could be detrimental to Your Majesty's interests. King Cotubxa (Kutbshāh) of Golconda, who was formerly friendly to us, is at present at variance with us for having admitted the Dutch to his ports with which they are trading. And the passes which he formerly sought from us, in order that his ships might sail the seas, he no more asks for. But the merchants of both sides come and go without any hindrance, and, judging by what I was told, he desires to renew the good relations which we had with him."[14]

The following letter sheds light on the Portuguese policy of issuing *cartaz* to the Nizāmshāh:

"In the present letter, I have already observed that King (Nizāmshāh) sent word requesting *a pass over and above what he is entitled to by treaty*, in order to be able to despatch a ship of his to the port of Suaquem (?) in the straits of Mecca, and I did

14. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated Feb. 20, 1611.

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not agree to it. But then he pressed me very much, and his tānadār of Upper Chaul, Navascao, sent word to me to say that relying on the great friendship that existed between his King and us, he had already loaded the ship which was due to sail. He had acted, thus, by order of Melique (Malik) Ambar, who in turn had issued the order, relying on his policy of promoting your Majesty's interests, and the preceding Viceroys had never refused this pass. And, precisely, because Melique (Malik) Ambar, in whose name the ship is due to sail, is favourable to us, it seemed to me necessary to communicate this request to the Council of State, as, indeed, I did on January 9. It was decided to issue him the pass, *this time only*, with a declaration that it would not serve him as a precedent to ask for it again. In no case would he henceforth be granted a pass in excess of those stipulated in the agreement. We took this course for the following reasons. *It was necessary to help this king so that he could better stand up against the Mughal and have greater forces for the purpose.* Moreover, it is a time when the Dutch and the English were trying to gain their ends by winning over these kings, and so we ought not to give him cause for complaint. It was for these reasons that I issued the pass. May God protect the Catholic and royal person of Your Majesty."[15]

In the early part of the year, 1619 A.D., the Portuguese showed an eager inclination to contract a treaty with Malik Ambar. The relations between Malik Ambar and the Portuguese were far from cordial in 1613 A.D., which prompted the Ādilshāh to offer his offices to soothe and smoothen out their mutually strained relations. The previous treaty of the year, 1591 A.D. resulted in a tripartite treaty of defensive coalition among the rulers of the Deccan against the Moghuls in 1615 A.D., at the instance of the Portuguese, which was renewed in 1617 A.D.[16] In 1619 A.D., the Portuguese authorities in India were directed to preserve friendly and cordial relations with Malik Ambar for the reasons stated in the following document, dated the 26th Feb., 1619 A.D.:

15. *Ibid.*

16. D. V. Āpte: "Śiva Charitra Sāhitya" IV. (*Quarterly of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhaka Mandal*, Poona, XI-2 & 3, 25-31 & 33).

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(Letter of the Viceroy written to the King of Portugal).

"Viceroy Dom Jeronime sent Antonio Monteiro Corte Real as ambassador to Idalxa (Ādilshāh) and from there to Melique (Malik) to discuss and finalise the peace treaties between him and ourselves. He served Your Majesty well on this mission."[17]

Friend, Count Viceroy. I, the King, send you cordial greetings as one whom I hold in esteem. In chapter 20 of the instruction which I ordered to be issued to you here, I recommended to you the preservation of peace with Melique (Malik). And, you were told how you were to act towards him, and how you were to enter his domains with the aim of occupying the fort of Dandā, if the Mughal should try to crush him. You wrote to me on this subject with last year's post that we are still at peace with this King and you have not forgotten the directive about the fort of Dandā, so that if it should still be in his possession and the Mughal should attack him, you would try to act upon it, after discussing the matter in council. Nevertheless, I once again, require you to bear in mind the contents of that chapter and to act accurately according to it, as I am confident you will. However, I have thought it necessary to declare to you at the same time that the directive given to you about Dandā has to be understood as follows: namely, (if the Mughal attacks Melique (Malik) and it becomes evident) that he cannot maintain or defend that position, *we must prevent it falling into the hands of the Mughals, who prove very troublesome neighbours.* However, if those Rulers are at peace and Melique (Malik) at peace and in good relations with our Government, you will take care not to make any attempt to take the said fortress of Dandā, or to provoke a conflict. That is how you are to act in this matter.
Written in Lisbon, February 26, 1619.

Sd/-
King
Duke of Villa Hermosa
Conde de Ficalho

For the Viceroy of India."[18]

17. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1116, dated Feb. 20, 1619.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 1145, dated Feb. 26, 1619.

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From the following reply to the above instructions, it can be noted with interest that the Portuguese authorities felt bitterly disgusted at the refractory attitude of a Nizāmshāhī officer:

"Regarding Your Majesty's instruction to act, when it becomes necessary to do so, all possible attention will be given to the matter, because it is very much to our interests that this position and fortress should not fall into the hands of the Mughal or the other enemies. For, even though today it is in the hands of a friendly King, it is in charge of an officer who disregards the orders of his King, and obliges us to take precautions when our merchant ships and navy has to pass that way, because the said captain gives shelter to the paros (padaus, ships) of the Malabarese, and these issue forth to prey on ships. And even though the Court and former Viceroys complained to the King of Melique (Malik) about this, no redress could ever be secured. The fortress is in possession of this officer for the duration of his life, as it previously belonged to his father. Thus, *he considers it as his own and lives like one who is in state of rebellion.* May God protect the Catholic and Noble Person of Your Majesty."[19]

19. *Ibid.*

Further references to the Portuguese sources:

1. F. C. Danavers: *The Portuguese in India,* Vol. I. The offensive and defensive treaty with the Nizamshah and Malik Ambar.

2. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. III, p. 453, the treaty between the Portuguese at Goa with the Adilshah. (translated into English).

3. P. S. Pissurlencar: The Portuguese Treaties with Malik Ambar in 1615 and 1617 A.D. furnished to and translated in Marāthī by D. V. Apte. *Quarterly of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhaka Mandal,* Poona, XII-2 & 3).

4. Father Heras: Excerpts from *Monoquoes de Reino,* No. 4, Ano de 1595 to 1598 A.D. and Ano de 1601 to 1602 A.D. fol. 18. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April,* 1925, pp. 122-5.

5. *Livros das Moncoes, Nos.* 11 & 12. (Goa Records).

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6. John Briggs: *History of the Mohammadan Power in India* till the year A.D., 1612, Vol. III. (Extracts from Faria-e-Souza: Chronological Epitome of the Wars of the Portuguese in India as connected with the History of the Deccan, Appendix, pp. 501-528).

7. Panduranga Pissurlencar: *A Extinção do Reino de Nizamshah.* (Separata de Boletim Instituto Vasco da Gama, No. 27-1935).

8. P. S. Pissurlencar: "The Extinction of the Nizamshahis" (Reprint from the *Sardesai Commemoration Volume,* published by Keshav Bhikaji Dhawale, Bombay-4, 1938).

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Nobility and the Mercantile Community in India, XVI-XVIIth Centuries

BY

SURENDRA GOPAL

The relationship between the mercantile community and the nobility[1] is an important aspect of the medieval society. Its study helps us to understand the economic forces operating in the society and the role of the political authority in helping or hindering or moulding them. The present paper seeks to describe and analyse briefly the above problem in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when crucial changes were on the anvil.

At the end of the fifteenth century when the Portuguese opened the sea-route from Europe to the East, there existed a well-organised mercantile community in the port towns as well as in the trade-marts of the heartland of India. The indigenous merchants situated near the coast traded across the seas with the eastern coast of Africa, the Red Sea region, the Persian Gulf area, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, the Malay peninsula, and the Indonesian islands.[2] The foreign traders reciprocated the visits of their Indian counterparts in a big way. Hence, the local business community also contained a considerable number of foreigners.[3] The cosmopolitan character was also visible in the structure of northern Indian business community. The trade-marts were visited by merchants from Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Nepal and Tibet.

1. The term 'nobility' is taken to mean the governmental bureaucracy as well as the independent or semi-independent chieftains who dotted the country.

2. See *"Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* 1497-1499", London, 1898; *"The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants"*. Vols. I-II, (London, 1918-1921) and *"The Suma Oriental of Tom Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in* 1512-1515", Vols. I-II, London, 1949.

3. *Ibid.*

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In short, the entire land and sea-trade of the country was controlled by merchants, local and foreign, who thus wielded considerable influence over the country's economy.

In view of the above, it is surprising that members of the merchants community in North India like the Vaiśyas and Khatrīs (including Arorā) among the Hindus, Jains, Parsis and Khojās among the Muslims did not enjoy a direct share in political power. As a rule they were not appointed as important functionaries of the state. Undoubtedly, there were exceptions to the rule. Hemu, a Vaisya contested the throne of Delhi at the second battle of Panipat in 1556 against Akbar. Raja Todar Mal, a Khatrī rose to be Prime Minister under Akbar. Members from these communities worked at lower levels in the revenue and finance deparments. The higher echelons of the administrative hierarchy were usually held by men of non-trading communities. This was not the case in peninsular India. The classic case is that the merchant Mīr Jumlā who rose to be the Prime-Minister of Golconda and then defected to the Mughals in 1655.[4]

Some of the merchants in the peninsular India behaved like nobles in as much as they had small armies of their own.[5] Sometimes they sent armed escorts for their ships bound for foreign lands[6] and in the process even ventured to challenge the might of the European trading companies. Thus the merchant community in the South differed qualitatively in one respect from their compa-

4. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandal* 1605-1690. Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, p. 46; Moreland, W. H., *India from Akbar to Aurangzib*, London, 1923, p. 102. His case is different from Todar Mal, who though belonging to the Khatri caste was himself never a trader. The Prime-Ministership of the Mughal Empire was the climax of his career, He had started as a petty functionary in the revenue department. Hemu, although a Vaisya is not known to have been a trader but like Todar Mal began as a small official under the Sūrs.

5. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp. 52, 59. On p. 52 the author writes, "The Company's own middleman, Chinanna, became hostile to the Dutch in 1645, collected an army and tried to starve out Pulicat, though not with any great success." Chinanna was one of the most renowned merchants of his time on the Coromandel coast. Another merchant turned administrator was Koneri Chetti.

6. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

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triots in the North—they were not entirely shorn of coercive power and could therefore, resist encroachments on their privileges, if need be, even by the use of arms.

It cannot be suggested that the merchants in the north could not visualize the advantages of possessing adequate armed might to further their professional interests. They were in thick of diplomatic activities of the times. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Indian rulers and even the foreign trading companies used the indigenous merchants as mediators for conducting highly delicate negotiations involving important policy decisions. For example, in 1514 the Portuguese Governor, Albuquerque, employed two Gujarāti merchants who also enjoyed the confidence of the opposite party for carrying on parleys with the Gujarāti rulers.[7] Similarly a Cambay merchant Kalyan Rai helped the Mughals to secure Portuguese pass for going to Mecca.[8] Such examples can be multiplied throughout the seventeenth century.[9] The Indian merchants performed such services even outside India. The Governor of Mocha and the English in 1610 failed to see eye to eye and hostilities broke out. The Indian merchants staying there acted as peace-makers.[10]

Notwithstanding these experiences, the fact remains that the Indian merchants, at least those belonging to the Mughal Empire were denied opportunities to have any share in the effective political power. They could not develop one of the basic attributes of political power, that is, the creation and control of armed forces. Nor could they manage to secure for themselves the continuing support of the existing political authority. A partial explanation for this failure can be found in the ideology of some of the involved business groups.

7. M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, (Bombay, 1938), p. 350.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 12.

9. In 1623 the Anglo-Mughal quarrel ended after intervention by trader Hariji Vaisya. *The English Factories in India*, (hereafter cited as E.F.I.), 1622-23, pp. 278-280.

10. *Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, Vol. III, p. 142; *Letters Received by The East India Company From its Servants in the East*, Vol. I, (1602-13), (London, 1896), p. 169.

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The Jains were exclusively wedded to non-violence. It was sacrilegious for them to think in terms of warfare. In Rājasthān and Gujarat the Jains and Vaisyas not infrequently married with each other. Hence, the cult of non-violence influenced even the Vaisyas. The Vaisyas and sections of Khatrīs of north India were under the sway of Vaishnava sects, which too, advocated non-injury to living beings. Still other groups among the Vaisyas and Khatris had no such ideological constraints. Sikhism started as a movement of Khatrī traders. In course of a century, it had became militant. But then the Khatrī traders allowed the movement during this phase (roughly corresponding to the seventeenth century) to be dominated by peasantry. They could but they did not take any initiative.

The Parsis as a compact business group crystallized only in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were numerically too small. Hence, they could not have possibly moved in this direction. Smallness might also explain the failure of Muslim business community in the north for they had no ideological barriers to surmount. But this is merely a justification. In the Malabār and Coromandel coasts, the Muslim traders in spite of scanty numbers, took to arms.

In other words, the mercantile community in the north had shown its helplessness and ineffectiveness in challenging the political authority on equal terms. This was responsible mainly for their incapacity to undermine feudalism and usher in a new social order. It also encouraged the entrenched political order to deal with the Indian mercantile community in an arbitrary manner, with serious consequences for the national economy.

Once the helplessness of the business community became apparent to the feudal lords, they did not hesitate to take advantage of it. They freely dabbled in trade and earned large fortunes. The Mughal rulers were keen on this source of income. Akbar and his Queen Mother had invested their fortune in the Red Sea trade. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān were also not averse to participating in trade.[11] Shah Jahān, while still a prince had

11. *E.F.I.*, (1622-23), p. 209; Brooke, I.H.Q., Madras, April, 1932.

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developed vested interest in India's sea-borne trade.[12] When he ascended the throne his ships were plying westwards as well as eastwards.[13] Aurangzeb sent ships from ports on Coromandel coast to Ceylon and South-East Asia.[14]

The interest shown in sea trade by the Emperor was shared by the members of the royal household. Asaf Khān, the brother of Empress Nūr Jahān was a great trader.[15] Prince Shuja as Governor of Bengal participated in the sea trade of Bengal.[16] Shaista Khān while he was the governor of Bengal sent his ships laden with merchandise to foreign countries.[17] Besides, we have numerous examples, when the governors of maritime provinces like Gujarat and Bengal[18] and chiefs of port-towns like Cambay, Broach and Surat in Gujarat[19] and Hugli in Bengal[20] as also of inland trading centres like Ahmadābād[21] and Rājmahal[22] participated in maritime commerce.

The significant point about the business ventures of nobles was, that they traded not because they had interest in it or were qualified for the task but because it was an easy way to make money, requiring only the use of political power, which was already their monopoly.

The extent and frequency of the use of political power for furthering trading interests by the feudal lords as opposed to that

12. *E.F.I.*, 1618-21, pp. XV, 135; *E.F.I.*, 1622-23, pp. 148, 264.
13. Sushil Chaudhury, The Rise and Decline of Hugli, *Bengal Past and Present*, January-June, 1967, p. 46.
14. Tapan Raychaudhury, *op.cit.*, pp. 124, 205.
15. *E.F.I.*, 1622-23, p. 209.
16. *Tapan Raychaudhury*, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-78.
17. Sushil Chaudhury, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
19. The Governor of Cambay sought permission from the English to send his ship to Iran. *E.F.I.*, 1618-21, p. 278; the governor of Surat traded with Hodeida. *E.F.I.*, 1622-23, p. 161; the governor of Broach was in debt to the English. *Letters Recd.*, Vol. II, p. 305; In 1654 the ruler of Surat cancelled his idea of sending a ship to Bandar Abbās owing to disturbed conditions at sea—*E.F.I.*, 1651-54, p. 104.
20. Sushil Chaudhury, *op.cit.*, pp. 60, 61.
21. In 1641, the governor of Ahmedābād requested the English to carry his goods to Iran.. *E.F.I.*, 1637-41, p. 308.
22. Sushil Chaudhury, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

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of the mercantile community can be seen from the following example:—

The ruler of Broach forbade the sale of textiles to others till he had purchased his requirements.[23] During the reign of Shāh Jahān such instances were many. In 1633 the governor of Ahmadābād entered into an agreement with a local trader Manohardās and granted him monopoly for the purchase and sale of indigo.[24] He charged exorbitant prices and the merchants were compelled to resist by stopping their purchases. Ultimately the Emperor relented and the monopoly was abolished in 1635.[25]

The local authorities also suppressed the traders. The port authorities often held up goods in custom-houses for long periods while the haggling over the amount to be paid to the state or over the value of the goods went on.[26] Suitable presents and bribes by the merchants to authorities concerned had become customary for arriving at a compromise.[27] It was not uncommon that local authorities would prohibit traders to have any dealings with newly arrived merchants, till they had made their own purchases.[28]

To add to the above difficulties, the feudal-lords used to extort money from the merchants.[29] If any merchant incurred their slightest displeasure, he would be imprisoned and humiliated in various ways. The English broker Jadow at Agra was put behind bars by the Mughal authorities in 1614, because he was supposed to have sold a fake diamond ring and thus cheated a high Mughal official. The English factor found Jadow's condition pitiable as for twenty days he had not been allowed either to wash or change

23. *E.F.I.*, 1624-29, p. 231.
24. *E.F.I.*, 1630-33, p. 324.
25. *E.F.I.*, 1634-36, p. XI.
26. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzib*, pp. 353-54.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 361-62.
28. Ed. Foster, W., *Letters Received by The East India Company from its Servants in the East*, Vol. II, (1613-1615), London, 1897, p. 179; *E.F.I.*, 1624-29, p. 231.
29. *E.F.I.*, 1624-29, pp. 161, 191; *E.F.I.*, 1655-60, p. 123; Commissariat, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 134-35, 136; Moreland, *op.cit.*, pp. 360-61, 318-79. According to Khāfi Khān the agent of Murād Baksh got only six lacs rupees from the merchants of Surat although he had demanded fifteen lacs. *History of India As Told By Its Own Historians*, Vol. VII, London 1877, p. 217.

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and been given very little food. Withington pleaded on behalf of Jadow and finally a deal was struck. Jadow made a present of Rs. 250 to the King and was released. Withington was sure that Jadow had to spend much more to secure his liberty, besides putting up with the loss of the ring. Even great merchants were not spared. Vīrjī Vorā, the merchant-prince of Surat (probably the richest trader of India in the seventeenth century) happened to court the wrath of the local authorities. He was put behind the bars and released only after great trouble.[30] The situation was aptly described by an English factor in these words, "... for their (nobles) pride is such that they scorn them (merchants), making no more reckoning of them than of banyans, whom they hold little better than slaves ..."[31] The feudal lords also did not hesitate to levy taxes on goods passing through their jurisdiction commonly called *rāhdārī*, although they were repeatedly forbidden to do so by successive Mughal Emperors, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.[32] This practice, besides causing unnecessary delay and harassment, made the commodities dearer. The English found that on account of the payment of *rāhdārī* on goods in transit between Surat and Ahmadābād, the prices of commodities doubled. If this was the case in connection with short distances, we can imagine the situation when goods had to be transported to considerably longer distances. Moreover, the evil of *rāhdārī* was rampant all over the Empire.

The denial of political power to the business men and its monopoly by the nobility and their active interference in trading activities were the chief features of this relationship. It prevented the traders from fulfilling their historic task, as capital accumulators, as promoters of both national and international trade, as regulators of the system of production and ultimately standing up as rivals to the nobility and challenging the feudal system.

30. *E.F.I.*, 1637-41, pp. XVI, 108.
31. *Letters Recd.*, Vol. II, p. 261.
32. Moreland, *op.cit.*, pp. 361-68; the author of *Wakia't Jahangiri* says that Jahangir abolished transit duties all over the kingdom in March 1606. *History of India As Told By Its Own Historians*, London, 18975, Vol. VI, pp. 290-91; Khāfī Khān, the author of *Muntkhab-tal-Lubab*, says that Aurangzib also remitted all vexatious taxes. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 247.

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The Indian merchants however, did not submit passively. They protested whenever they found feudal tyranny intolerable. The documents of the English East India Company refer to a number of such cases in Gujarat. However, the form of protest was never violent. It did not assume the form of armed opposition as was sometimes the case in peninsular India. The merchants generally closed their shops, threatened to quit the place *en masse*. The most famous incident of this nature occurred during the reign of Aurangzeb. The Hindu merchants of Surat in retaliation in 1668 to the policy of religious discrimination practised by the Emperor which incidentally compelled them to pay custom duties at higher rates than their Muslim counter-parts, decided to emigrate from the place. This brought the Emperor to his senses and the Hindus decided to give up their plan only after Aurangzeb had promised to withdraw the discriminatory measure.[33] In order to escape from the indigenous feudal exploitation, the Indian business community made peace with the European trading companies which proliferated in the seventeenth century. They turned into comprador agents and assisted them in internal markets with their expert local knowledge and financial credits.[34]

The alliance of the Indian merchants with the Europeans helped them to a very limited extent to avoid the local feudal strangle-hold. At best they could evade the payment of local taxes from which the Europeans were generally exempt[35] or occasionally by keeping their merchandise under European protection safely move it from one place to another within the country. On rare occasions the Indian merchants found shelter in European establishments like Bombay and Hugli. As a matter of fact, Bombay owed its development to the migration of substantial number of Gujarati and Parsi traders who wanted to escape from the tyranny of the Mughal authorities.

But on the whole, the mercantile community stood to lose by their new association for its area of operation went on contracting.

33. *E.F.I.*, 1668-69, pp. 190, 192, 205.

34. The Factory Records of the English East India Company in the seventeenth century furnish many such instances all over the country.

35. The foreigners had on numerous occasions obtained Royal *firmans* to this effect throughout the seventeenth century.

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The Europeans gradually took over a large part of India sea trade, external as well as coastal and actively participated even in inter-nal trade.[36] This enabled them to control and regulate production. Thus the European control of Indian economy in the seventeenth century preceded and eventually became the cause of her political slavery to the English in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Thus feudal policies and oppression were largely responsible for forcing the mercantile community to play a subservient role to the foreigners. Hence, their capability as accumulators and investors of wealth in the process of production further suffered. The capital was turned into usurious capital. A fundamental change in the nature of Indian trading classes had come about. The capital began to be utilized more and more for speculative purposes, like insuring goods in transit[37] and advancing money at exorbitant rates of interest. For example, in Surat in the sixties, the merchants advanced money to entrepreneurs for sending merchandise to China, the principal was to be returned with an interest, calculated at the rate of 25 p.c. Ships returning from Manila were to repay the loan together with an interest between 40-45%.[38] In case there was a loss or the ships were lost, the loan was not to be refunded.[39] In other words, the growth of the Indian bourgeoisie was checked at the moment when it could have blossomed forth into a full-fledged capitalist class. The short-sighted policies of the nobility were responsible for this. Thereby the capacity of the Indian business community to undermine feudalism and usher in capitalism was delayed at that particular juncture when in the West the rising bourgeoisie was becoming the harbinger of a new era in history.

As stated earlier, the feudal exploitation of the merchant community in South India was less in intensity as compared to North India. Still like their northern compatriots they were unable to resist feudal repression because as the seventeenth century

36. See Tapan Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, Moreland.
37. *E.F.I.*, 1646-50, p. 253; *E.F.I.*, 1655-60, p. 121; *E.F.I.*, 1670-77, pp. XVI, 195, 204.
38. *E.F.I.*, 1668-69, p. 195.
39. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year* 1689, p. 228; *E.F.I.*, p. 195.

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proceeded, an adverse political situation developed. The Mugha armies had started knocking at the gates of the Deccan in the reig of Akbar. Jahangir kept up the strike even though no spectacula advance was registered in the tightening of the Mughal hold. Bu from Shah Jahān onwards, the Mughal encroachments on th Deccan became a reality. The process found its culmination a the hands of Aurangzeb, who made the Deccan, a part of th Mughal Empire. The incessant wars created anarchical condition which led to accretion of power to the nobility. The mercha community was compelled, as in the north, to seek alliance wit Europeans and in the process lost the ability to resist and under mine feudalism and stand up to alien penetration even in the own professional domain.

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Some Documents Relating to the Travancore War (1790)

BY

A. P. Ibrahim Kunju

The immediate cause of the Travancore War (1790)—between Tipu Sultan and the Raja of Travancore—was the purchase of the two Dutch forts of Munampam (Āyakōṭṭa) and Koḍuṅṅallūr (Cranganore) by the latter.[1] As these two forts were strategically important to his possessions in Malabar, Tipu had been negotiating with the Dutch for their purchase. But before the negotiations could be concluded, the Raja of Travancore persuaded the Dutch to sell the forts to him. When the negotiations of the Raja came to the notice of the Governor of Madras, he dissuaded the Raja from entering into the transaction. Unheeded, the Raja proceeded with the transaction and acquired the forts in question by purchase for Travancore (31st July, 1789).

When this was known, the Company's authorities expressed themselves strongly against the transaction. Holland, the Governor of Madras, wrote: "This very impolitic conduct makes you liable for forfeiture of the Company's protection; for you cannot expect that they will defend a territory of which you were not possessed when their troops were sent into your country, and which have since been obtained without their consent."[2] Lord Cornwallis observed "Should he provoke Tippoo by making collusive purchases of forts or places in the territories of one of his tributaries... he will justly draw Tippoo's resentment upon himself and at the

1. See my paper 'Relations between Travancore and Mysore, in the 18th Century' (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (1960), part II, pp. 56-61).

2. *Military Consultations*, Vol. 131A, pp. 2386-7.

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same time forfeit all right to the Company's friendship or interference in his favour."[3]

Rāma Varma, the Raja of Travancore, was totally upset at his sudden turn of events. He tried to justify his action. He wrote on 3rd September, 1789, that he had ascertained, before purchasing the forts in question, that the Dutch held them in independent possession. But as is evident, the transaction itself was a collusive one. The transaction was entered into between the Dutch and the Raja of Travancore, with the intention of involving the English, the ally of the latter, in a war with Tipu, if he attacked these forts (Document No. I). Further, it was only when the question of proprietary rights over the forts was raised, did the King enquire about the Dutch rights over the two places (Document No. II).

Document No. III relates to the help which the Dutch at Cochin rendered to the Raja of Travancore in the war against Tipu Sultan.

The letter of the Cochin Raja to Batavia (Document No. IV) refers to the background of the war. Incidentally, it gives the lie to the charge that on 28th December 1789, Tipu wantonly attacked the Travancore Lines. The letter simply mentions that Tipu came to the locality, but finding that the forts were stronger than he had expected, returned to Pālakkāḍ (Palghat) to wait for reinforcements.

Document No. V gives the details of the conference which took place at Pālakkād between Tipu Sultan and the Cochin Raja. The Document states that it was after clearing the country of the Zamorin's troops, and in grateful appreciation of the service that the districts of Paṟavūr and Ālaṁṁāḍ were ceded to Travancore. But the facts were otherwise. It was in consideration of the help to be rendered by the Raja of Travancore, for clearing the 'former Cochin Territory' of the Zamorin's troops, that the Cochin Raja agreed by the Treaty of Cērttala (23rd December 1761) to cede to Travancore "the territory of Karappuram—Pampā Aḷi (Strait of Cochin) in the north and Ālappuḷa (Aleppey) in the South—

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 131 B, pp. 2659-61.

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excluding Aṇṭikkaḍav, Cellāni and Kumpaḷaṅṅi and the districts of Paṟavūr and Ālaṅṅāḍ".[4] As the King of Travancore did not immediately move in the matter, the Cochin Raja proceeded to the Śucīndram Temple and took the oath of affirmation (6th August 1762).[5] It was only thereafter that the King of Travancore took earnest measures to carry out the provisions of the treaty

The concluding portion of the document reveals the suspicion which the Raja of Travancore entertained over the whole proceedings. It places him in a quite an unfavourable light as he was instrumental in persuading the Cochin Raja to meet Tipu at Pālakkāḍ. The utter helplessness of the Raja of Cochin was being exploited to promote his own interests. His aim was to ascertain the intentions of the Sultan with regard to Travancore. The comment of the Sultan on the English alliance that it would not "prove long for his advantage" turned out only to be too true as far as Travancore was concerned. Within the next twenty-five years, Travancore, one of the oldest allies in India of the English East India Company, had to rebel against the rapaciousness and faithlessness of the Company's servants!

DOCUMENTS

I

(Received at Cochin on 25th July 1789)

"To the Admiral at the Cochin Fort,

We have sent Kēśava Piḷḷai there to impress upon the Admiral the necessity to do the needful in the interests of both parties in the matter of Munambam and Koḍuṅṅallūr. As long as these two places are in the possession of the Company, the Nawāb (Tipu) will surely attack them and seize them, instead of coming against us. Without Tipu taking measures against us, our ally, the English Company, will not move in the matter. If these two places are in

4. *Treaties* (Cochin State), No. 4.

5. Quoted by Velu Pillai: *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, Appendix, Document No. CLIX.

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our possession, he (Tipu) will not come against them; if he comes (against them), the English will join forces against him on the ground that he has broken the treaty with them. It is on that account that we are writing to the Admiral."[6]

II

(Received at Cochin on 23rd December 1789)

"To the Admiral at the Cochin Fort,

We had the letter, sent through the Linguist, read to us and the contents noted. We are herewith sending the farman brought by Abdul-Qadir to us and a copy of our reply.....Tipu Sultan is stated as camping at Iriññālākkuḍa and having 20,000 (?) Canares and Mysore foot and 2,000 (?) cavalry with him.....We have sent sufficient number of people to Munampam and Koḍuṅṅallūr for their protection. If necessary, more men will be sent ..... We would like to know when the Dutch Company acquired possession of the Koḍuṅṅallūr fort from the hands of the Portuguese and (whether) the Company was enjoying possession of it without paying any customary tribute to anybody.....".[7]

III

(Received at Cochin on 11th March, 1790)

"To the Admiral at the Cochin Fort,

The four 18—pounders, which the Admiral gave us, had benefitted us greatly. As Tipu Sultan had erected batteries near our fort and begun to bombard us we also raised some batteries within the fort, for the use of which we require some heavy guns. It will take considerable time to fetch them from Udayagiri; as it is, the Admiral may, out of his kind regard, give us four cannons of the 20-pounder, 22-pounder and 24-pounder sizes, their gun-

6. *Kozhikode Collectorate Records*, Vol. III, No. 44.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 47.

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carriages, 500 balls and 200 cartridges for each and other necessary accoutrements.....".[8]

IV

(3rd March, 1789)

(To The Governor-General of Netherlands India, Batavia),

"Most Noble Lord,

.....Since last Mēḍam (April-May), when Tipu Sultan came to Kōḷikkōḍ (Calicut), he had written thrice inviting us to meet him. As an envoy had at last arrived with a letter, the question of meeting him was discussed with the Admiral and the Raja of Tṛappāppūr Svarūpam (Travancore) in a conference at Tṛppūṇittura. It was felt that if we did not go now, he (Tipu) might occupy the Kingdom and serious troubles might follow. Consequently (we) proceeded to Pālakkāṭṭuśśēri (Palghat) on 14th Eḍavam (26th May) and had an interview with the Sultan on 14th, 15th and 16th and returned on 16th. You would have known the details from the reports of the Admiral and the Raja, as we had intimated them of the talk (with Tipu) and his intentions. Tipu Bādshāh had come here with 60,000 troops; but only when he saw the Neḍumkōṭṭa (the Travancore Lines) and the Koḍuṅṅallūr fort, did he realise their strength and returned to Pālakkāḍ, we have been told by a trustworthy person at Pālakkāḍ that he (Tipu) will return to the attack with reinforcements. We hope, your Excellency would have been convinced by our several letters that we have been faithful to the Company in all our dealings and that we have suffered great hardship and losses on several accounts. It is because the present Admiral of the Cochin fort, who by his shrewdness and diplomacy, has aided us as occasion demanded, that we have been enabled to carry on our affairs. We feel that, in the present difficult circumstances if the Company does not send adequate help, it will become impossible to carry on. It will mean that the Hon. Company will also lose its possessions in Malayālam (Kerala). As the Company and the two svarūpams (Cochin and

8. *Ibid.*, No. 53.

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Travancore) are acting in perfect unison for mutual benefit, if the Company sends adequate help and all of us persevere in the affair, the enemy can be overthrown. .... We trust that the Company will, as a result, secure certain benefits from the proceedings. Therefore we believe that, considering the merits of the case, your Excellency will despatch adequate help and will do everything for strengthening the mutual confidence (existing) between the Company and the two Svarūpams .... ."[9]

V

(Letter from the Raja of Travancore to Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Fort St. George).

(8th June, 1788)

" ..... The Raja of Cochin came here lately after a meeting he had with Tippoo Sultan at Palgautcherry and has communicated to me as follows.

The Sultan asked, "What has been the cause of your not coming sooner? Have you been prevented by the Raja of Travancore? Had you come immediately you would have done better; at present the rainy season is approaching; we must remain upon the borders till that is past, when I shall commence hostilities."

"I have heard that the Raja of Travancore has taken possession of some of your districts. I have therefore propose to you that you shall take such force from me as you may judge necessary, and go to recover those possessions."

I gave him for answer that, "at the time when the Rajah of Calicut declared war against by predecessors and drove them from their country, riches and comfort, the Raja of Travancore, by his protection and assistance, and with an army and resources, pre-

9. *Records in Oriental Languages*, Cochin State, Book II, Letters from Cochin Raja to Batavia. Letter No. 9.

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pared on purpose, after a long opposition and war, recovered the whole country, replaced my predecessors, put them in full possession of their former rights, and out of his great goodness and friendship, left his troops for our protection, that we might not, in future, be exposed to the designs of the enemy. Having experienced such instances of friendship and support in those difficulties, at the expense of lacs of his treasure, my predecessors were desirous to give the Raja of Travancore in return the possessions called Perwar [Paṟavūr] and Alingear [Ālaṅṅāḍ], which produce only a small rent but the Raja would by no means accept of that offer."

"My elder brother, when he became proprietor, prevailed upon the Raja to accept of those districts and made a lasting assignment of them, so that I have no claim to retake those possessions, nor will the Rajah relinquish them, as it was all fixed by a permanent agreement."

"Tippoo, having heard what I have related, said, "It appears very improper that you should have your residence in a place belonging to the Rajah of Travancore; you should remove to the country under your own management, and, with the assistance of my army, drive the Dutch from Cochin." I replied, "that myself and family had long fixed our residence there, and that the Rajah of Travancore would not approve of our removing into my possessions, nor can I agree to expel the Dutch, who are my old and intimate friends." To this the Sultan replied, "There are some districts belonging to me in the neighbourhood of Calicut, which I shall make over to you for a time, in order that you may by degrees, in the course of six months, remove from thence with your family. Please God I will take the Rajah of Travancore's fort in a space of eight days, and in four days more will have possession of the Dutch settlement of Cochin." I was at last obliged to agree to remove from hence with my people. The Sultan said further, "The Rajah of Travancore is at present in strict alliance and friendship with the English, but that will not prove long for his advantage; for who has ever found truth or good faith in Europeans? It is with me that he should cultivate an intercourse and friendship." At length, on taking my leave

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he ordered his vakeel along with me with a dress and horse for you; and he is now upon the road

May it please Your Excellency, it appears to me, by the above relation, that the Sultan has seduced the Rajah of Cochin, by making a temporary offer of those possessions near Calicut, which are not within my limits; and it appears that the Rajah has not given me a just account, but a very contrary one, of the conversation which passed between himself and the Sultan. From this, I am led to conclude by the Sultan's thus gaining over the Rajah of Cochin, that hostilities will take place. If the Sultan should attack the Dutch settlement or come against me on account of its being within my possessions, in either case it must end in war....."[10]

10. Quoted by Maj. Dirom, *A Narrative of the War with Tippoo Sultan in 1792.* Appendix IV.

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Gandhiji and The Socialists — A Phase in The National Struggle

BY

GIRIJA SHANKAR

The Socialists in India underwent a significant ideological change owing to their contact with Gandhiji during the period of National Struggle. The Gandhian influence was also of great consequence in shaping the ideology of the socialist movement in the post–independence period. The rapprochement between the West–inspired, amoralist and scientific socialist movement which since 1934 had been organised into a political party—the All India Congress Socialist Party or the CSP within the Congress—with the indigenously–rooted, moralist and religion–oriented Gandhism was as interesting as it was a significant phase of the nationalist movement.

In the early thirties when the movement started the Socialists were Communists in every thing except that they did not adhere to the affiliation to the Communist International. As observed by one of the Socialists:

> "Socialist thinking in this period had almost become synonymous with the orthodox Marxism which was construed even by democratic socialists as the sole scientific school of thought which offered not merely a scientific interpretation of the historical development of society but also a guide to usher in a new social order free from exploitation."[1]

Socialist leaders in this period generally subscribed to the materialistic interpretation of history, theories of class struggle, revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and finally to

1. M. R. Dandavate, *Gandhiji's Impact on Socialist Thinking*, A Praja Socialist Party Publication, 1957, p. 1.

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the development to the stage of a classless society.[2] They also believed at least theoretically in the dictum "end justifies the means."[3] In his book, 'Why Socialism ?' (1936) which was then regarded the most authentic exposition of the socialist ideology, Jayaprakash Narayan explained "the foundation of socialism" by saying:

> "There has been a growing unity in the Socialist thought and today more than ever before it is possible to say that there is only one type, one theory of socialism—Marxism."[4]

Most of the Socialist leaders, of course, believed in bringing about a mass revolution of the Soviet type and participated in Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement with doubt about its efficacy and accepted non-violence as a matter of convenient policy rather than a creed.[5] In his book, 'Why socialism ?' Jayaprakash Narayan scathingly attacked Gandhiji's teachings and attributed him with a motive to maintain status quo in society and obstruct the pace of social transformation.[6] Socialists generally characterized Gandhiji as a visionary thinker whose teachings and actions had no relevance to socialism.[7]

As could be expected the Socialist advocacy of violent struggle, amoral approach to problems of politics and their programme of drastic social and economic reform were not liked by Gandhiji.

2. Asoka Mehta who belonged to the so-called Democratic—Socialist group wrote in 1935 a book which adhered to all these concepts of orthodox Marxism and Leninism. See Asoka Mehta, Socialist Research Tract No. 4, *Socialism and Gandhism,* (Bombay, Congress Socialist Publishing Company, 1935).

3. M. R. Masani, an outstanding founder leader of the CSP in a conversation in 1935 told Gandhiji that he would not hesitate to resort to violence if non-violent methods failed. (Home Deptt. F.N. 28/34/35 Political, p.1.) Jogesh Chatterji, a revolutionary leader of Bengal had also the same impression after his talks with the dominant socialist leadership. Jogesh Chatterji, *In Search of Freedom,* Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1967, p. 514.

4. Jayaprakash Narayan, *Why Socialism ?* All India Congress Socialist Party, Benaras, 1936, p. 1.

5. Personal interview with Jayaprakash Narayan on May 5, 1968 at Sitabdiara, Distt. Ballia.

6. Jayaprakash Narayan, *Why Socialism ?* pp. 80-84.

7. Mehta, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-25.

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Gandhians reacted very adversely when the Socialists proposed to organise a party on the occasion of the AICC session in May 1934 at Patna. The Congress Working Committee, then manned entirely by staunch followers of Gandhiji passed a resolution in June 1934 in which the Socialist "loose talk about confiscation of private property and the necessity of class war" was strongly deprecated and characterised as "contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence."[8] The Socialists in turn called this resolution as a "deliberate offensive" and denounced it in a strongly-worded statement as a "gross distortion of facts intended to create unnecessary prejudice against the programme" of the Socialists.[9] While this controversy was going on, Gandhiji also in a lengthy statement issued in September, 1934 from Wardha, made it out in clear terms that Socialist ideas as preached in the official pamphlets of the Socialist leaders were "distasteful" to him and that he had "fundamental differences with them."[10] Gandhiji even threatened that "If they (Socialists) gained ascendancy in the Congress, as well they may, I cannot remain in the Congress[11] and proposed certain changes for a complete reorganisation of the Congress which the Socialists interpreted as an attempt to destroy their existence in the Congress Organisation.[12] The proposals of Gandhiji alarmed the Socialists because they felt that the proposed reduction in the number of delegates to the annual Congress would affect their representation as many of their followers were not much known to be elected as delegates and

8. Indian National Congress, *Resolutions passed during the period between May, 1934 & April, 1936* (Allahabad, Law Journal Press, 1936), p. 21.

9. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1934, p. 344.

10. N. V. Raj Kumar, *Development of the Congress Constitution* (New Delhi, AICC, 1949) Appendix I, p. 137.

11. *Ibid.*

12. In short the proposals were (1) to change the creed of the Congress from a commitment to "peaceful and legitimate methods" to "truthful and non-violent means", (2) a requirement that every member of the Congress would have to spin 2,000 rounds of yarn each month, (3) that only a Congress-man, whose name had been in the Congress Register for at least six continuous months without default, and who had been a habitual wearer of khadi would be allowed to vote for the Congress delegates and that the number of delegates at the annual session of the Congress be reduced from 6,000 to 1,000 with not more than one delegate for every 1,000 voting members. Rajkumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-140.

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that the new qualifications of having been continuously on the Congress Register for six months without default and habitual wearing of khadi and adherence to "truthful and non-violent means" as proposed by Gandhiji would further reduce the number of Socialists in the Congress as mostly they had an antipathy for khadi and non-violence.

The Socialists therefore summoned a short conference of their Provincial Socialist Parties[13] to discuss this matter and also to consider their policy as to the Congress decision to take part in the coming Assembly Elections to which Gandhiji had given support.[14] This conference met at Benaras under the Chairmanship of Sampurnanand.[15] During the discussion on the subjects, the Socialists from Bombay Provincial Party disclosed that they had successfully persuaded Gandhiji not to press his amendments regarding compulsory spinning or the so-called "yarn-franchise" and the proposed change of Congress creed. The Socialists were therefore for the time being satisfied and dropped the discussion on the issue.[16]

Soon thereafter the Socialists formed the All India Congress Socialist Party within the Congress, on the eve of the Bombay Session of the Congress in October, 1934 and the declared object of their party among other things was to achieve such revolutionary changes as "transfer of all power to the producing masses", "Socialisation of Key Industries", elimination of princes and landlords and "all other classes of exploiters" without compensation and "redistribution of land to the peasants".[17] In order to strengthen their party the Socialists sought alliance with the Royists[18] and the Communists. This plan of the Socialists was facilitated by M. N. Roy's internment in connection with charges on him in the old Kanpur Conspiracy Case 1924 and the decision of the seventh

13. Till that time the All India CSP had not been formed.
14. For Gandhiji's support to the Council Entry Programme as proposed by the leaders of the revived Swaraj Party, see Gandhiji's letter to Swaraj Party leader, M. A. Ansari, dated Patna, April 5, 1934, *Modern Review* May, 1934, p. 585.
15. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1934, p. 290.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
17. *Congress Socialist*, November 25, 1934.
18. Followers of M. N. Roy.

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Congress of the Communist International to form "Popular Fronts" with the liberals, nationalists and socialists and even the bourgeois groups. The Socialists also received occasional support from such eminent national leaders as Nehru and Bose for their economic programme and advocacy of waging a militant struggle for independence.[19] It appeared that a strong and expanding left-wing led by the Socialists would dominate the politics of the country and push the Gandhians into the background. All through the thirties the political atmosphere was surcharged with socialist ideas. Congress meetings resounded with slogans for doing economic justice to the exploited masses and for starting a militant, direct struggle against the British imperialism. The political thinking of the country was enlivened by a sharp controversy over Socialism or Gandhism, to which even the intellectuals of the highest ability in the country could not remain indifferent.[20]

Besides the economic issues, the Socialists had sharp differences with Gandhiji on such problems as the mode of waging freedom struggle. The Socialists advocated militant direct action methods and Gandhiji favoured a non-violent Satyagraha. The Socialists vehemently opposed the official Congress Programme of office acceptance under the Act of 1935 and talked of forging out an "alternate leadership" in the Congress.[21] They wanted to wean

19. For example in his Presidential Address at the Lucknow Session of the Congress in April, 1936 Nehru declared "Socialism for me is not only an economic doctrine which I favour, it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart." *Important speeches of Jawahar Lal Nehru* (1922-1945), Ed. J. S. Bright, (Lahore, Indian Printing Press, 1945) p. 14. The Congress President, Bose, at the Haripura Congress held in February 1934 maintained "I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems... can be effectively tackled only along socialist lines." *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1938, p. 340.

20. A number of pamphlets and booklets were written during this period from both sides, besides spirited speeches from public platforms in support of respective ideologies. Asoka Mehta's *Socialism and Gandhism* (1935) Jayaprakash Narayan's *Why Socialism?* (1936), Pattabhi Sitaramayya's *Socialism and Gandhism*, (1938), Acharya Narendra Deva's *Samaj Vad Ka Bigul* (1939) and Rahul Sankrityayan's *Samaj Vad Hi Kyaun?* (1940) are some of the notable examples.

21. See Meerut Thesis (1936) and Faizpur Thesis (1937) of the Congress Socialist Party.

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the anti-imperialist elements in the Congress away from the path of "futile" constructive programme of Gandhiji and "sterile" parliamentarianism of the liberals in the Congress to the path of revolutionary Socialism.[22] Some Socialist leaders had begun to believe that the Gandhian leadership was old, dying and loosing its influence on the people and the Socialists would eventually be able to capture the entire Congress machinery. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan, in an appraisal of the Faizpur Congress (1937), wrote about the decline of Gandhiji's influence on the masses. He said:

> "But as his (Gandhiji's) words rolled on they fell, so it seemed to me, more and more flatly. When he finished there was no cheering, no waves of acclamation breaking through the cries of Gandhiji-ki-jai".[23]

The conflict between the Socialists and the Gandhians intensified with the installation of the Congress Ministries in seven (and later in eight) out of the eleven provinces in 1937 under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. This conflict became more acute in Bihar where Socialist-sponsored Kisan Sabha and the Congress Ministry came into a direct clash on the issue of agrarian reforms. The Congress Government in Bihar passed a Tenancy Bill, originally meant to give some relief to the peasants but later "considerably watered down" in order to meet the wishes of the Zamindars.[24] The Socialists protested against this change

22. *Ibid.*

23. Jayaprakash Narayan, *Towards Struggle,* (Bombay, Padma Publications, 1946), p. 190. This Congress witnessed the high watermark of the Socialist influence on the Congress. Nehru himself a socialist and a sympathiser of the CSP was the President. He had placed Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Deva and Achyut Patwardhan, all Socialist leaders, on the Working Committee of the Congress despite Gandhiji's suggestion of "omitting a Socialist name and taking a woman". Gandhiji's letter to Nehru, May 1936 (intercepted), Home Department, F.N. 32/12/36-Poll, p. 4. Resolutions relating to War, the "Faizpur agrarian programme", "Mass contacts", were "readily amended in the manner demanded by the left". Jayaprakash Narayan, "Notes on the Faizpur Congress", *loc. cit.*, p. 193.

24. For example the Bill evaded the issue of banning illegal eviction & sale of homesteads of the peasants by the Zamindars for failure to pay the rent.

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in the Bill and called it "surrender to the enemies of the Kisans".[25] Huge demonstrations and unprecedented Kisan marches took place in Bihar in support of the Kisan Sabha demands.[26] The Socialists supported the Kisans to defend themselves from the offending Zamindars with the help of the "danda" or the bamboo stick. But the Bihar Congress Committee decided to take action against those Congress men who were supporting the Kisan Sabha Movement. Gandhiji himself intervened in the controversy which he thought involved the issue of violence versus non-violence. He denounced the Socialist advocacy of the use of the "Danda" by the kisans even in self defence.[27] Gandhiji approved the action taken by the Bihar Congress Committee and the Congress Working Committee which warned all the Congress members that any thing they did to create an atmosphere of violence rendered them liable to disciplinary action. This attitude of Gandhiji and the Working Committee provoked bitter criticism of the Socialists who had grown confident of their strength in the Congress at that time.[28] The CSP General Secretary, Jayaprakash Narayan, wrote in a challenging tone:

> "Gandhism has played its part. It cannot carry us further and hence we must march and be guided by the ideology of socialism. We may suffer political persecution at the hands of the Congress and even be driven out of it, but a day will come when the Congress will become ours".[29]

The controversy on ideology reached the climax on the occasion of the Delhi Meeting of the AICC in September, 1938 when the right-wing which had the support of Gandhiji, in a resolution on "Civil Liberties" charged the Socialists of being advocates of "murder, arson, looting and class war by violent means" and warned that the Congress would back the Ministries which undertook measures

25. H. K. Singh, *History of Praja Socialist Party,* (Lucknow, Narendra Prakashan, 1959), p. 39.
26. H. D. Malaviya, *Land Reforms in India* (New Delhi, AICC, 1955), pp. 66-67.
27. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. I, 1938, p. 340.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288.
29. *Congress Socialist,* February 6, 1938.

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for "defence of life and property".[30] The acrimonious debate that followed over the resolution, resulted almost in a split of the Congress and sixty leftist-members under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Deva walked out of the meeting in protest.[31] Gandhiji himself was alarmed at the defiant attitude of the growing Socialist group and in a statement published in Harijan suggested that it was time for those who did not "willingly and wholeheartedly" subscribed to the Congress creed of truth and non-violence and constructive programme, to leave the Congress.[32]

Certain developments, however compelled both the Socialists and Gandhiji to give up opposition to each other. The period after 1938 witnessed a growing understanding and rapprochement between the Socialists and Gandhiji as different from other right-wing leaders who till the end remained anti-Socialist. By this time Socialists and Gandhiji had been in constant touch which gave them occasions for frequent exchange of views. Gandhiji realised that the acute social and economic problems could not be solved simply by an application of the concepts of trusteeship and change of heart or mere constructive work. He now began to recognise some merit in the social and economic proposals of the Socialists. The Socialists on their part by this time had received much disillusionment out of their dealings with the Royists and the Communists and had begun to realize the futility of their attempt to unite these discordant left-wing. A growing realization was coming to them that it was wise and necessary to accept the Gandhian leadership for struggle for freedom and even reconstruction of Indian Society. The process of this rapprochement was more perceptible from the time of the Tripuri Congress in 1939 when the Socialists extended support to the Gandhian leadership in the controversy over the famous Pant Resolution restricting President Bose's powers in appointing the members of the Working Committee. Gandhians, in return, supported the Socialist's "National Demand" which they put forth as an alternative

30. *Congress Bulletin*, No. 5, Sept. 26, 1936, (Allahabad, AICC 1938), p. 7.
31. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1938, p. 257.
32. M. K. Gandhi, "The unfortunate walkout", *Harijan*, October 15, 1938.

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to Bose's demand for six-month-ultimatum to the British Government.[33]

The events at Tripuri caused a serious rift in the left-wing of which the Socialists were the leading partners. The more militant and anti-Gandhi elements of their party left the organisation as a protest against the Party's stand at Tripuri.[34] The remaining Socialists in the CSP began to deviate sharply from their previous stand that the national movement had to choose between socialism and Gandhism. It was for the first time that the Socialists recognised that the nationalist movement really represented all shades of Indian people which consisted of various classes and communities and the key to its success lay in a common effort under the Congress banner and Gandhiji's leadership.[35] Some of the Socialists now began to stress the points of similarity between socialism and Gandhism in their objectives and methods and claimed that the "Gandhian phase in our national struggle" would logically and ultimately "lead to a socialist base".[36] Simultaneously there was the growth of anti-Communist tendency and denunciation of the Communist's "ultra leftism", and their own previous stand to "capture" the Congress in accordance with their own "alternate leadership" theory.[37] That this Gandhi-Socialist rapprochement was the result

33. For details of the Tripuri Congress, See Indian National Congress, *Report of the Fifty-Second Indian National Congress Tripuri* (District Jubbulpore, Mahakoshal), 1939; The Indian Annual Register, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 310-322; and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II (Bombay, Padma Publications, Ch. V). Also see, Subhas Chandra Bose, *Cross Roads* (Asia Pub. House, 1962) and *The Indian Struggle* (Asia Pub. House, 1964).

34. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 524-525.

35 M. R. Masani "C.S.P. Must Save the Congress", *Congress Socialist*, March 5 1939. This concept was vehemently controverted by the Socialists so far. Previous to this they claimed that the workers, peasants and lower middle classes were real anti-imperialist classes and could be relied upon in a fight against the British imperialism, Jayaprakash Narayan, *Why Socialism?*, p. 155.

36. M. R. Masani, "C.S.P. Must Save the Congress", *Congress Socialist*, March 5, 1939.

37. Achyut Patwardhan, "On Road to Socialism", "Need for Re-statement of Policy", *Congress Socialist*, April 9, 1939.

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of a free and frank discussion and personal contact with Gandhiji was revealed by the General Secretary of the CSP. He wrote:

> "A few weeks after Tripuri Session of the Congress, we had a detailed discussion with Gandhiji at Delhi, in which our and Gandhiji's plan of work and mutual relation between Gandhians and the Congress Socialists on the basis of ideological lines of the Congress, were thoroughly discussed. After three days' discussion, we and Gandhiji found ourselves close to each other. Gandhiji also said that he had come close to us."[38]

This rapprochement between Socialists and Gandhiji was not a mere temporary affair but its continuity showed that the differences between the two were not as irreconcilable as they appeared in the formative days of the CSP. The Socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan presented a detailed draft resolution for consideration of the Congress Session held at Ramgarh in March, 1940. This draft was meant to be a re-statement of the Congress goal and outlined a socialist economy for India. The chief features of this draft were the abolition of Land-lordism and Princely States, recognition of the principle that land belonged to the actual cultivators, nationalization of large-scale industries, representation of workers in the management and implementation of the principle of equality of every citizen.[39] Jayaprakash Narayan's draft resolution was not discussed by the Ramgarh Congress because of the decision of the Congress Working Committee to pass only one resolution relating to the War crisis.[40] But the draft was liked by Gandhiji who published it in the Harijan and had "no difficulty in generally endorsing" the proposals except the abolition of the Princely States on the plea that they were independent in law. Besides he had faith in the "Princes automatically surrendering their autocracy."[41] On his part Jayaprakash Narayan had also avoided in

38. *Sangharsh* (Hindi) January 29, 1940.

39. For full text of Jayaprakash Narayan's Draft Resolution, See Jayaprakash Narayan, *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, (New York, Asia Pub. House, 1964), pp. 37-39.

40. It hardly needs emphasis that the majority in the Congress Working Committee dis-favoured this Draft.

41. For full text of Gandhiji's comments and Jayaprakash's picture, *Harijan*, April 20, 1940.

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his draft the subject of the freedom struggle and in effect accepted non-violence although still as a matter of policy rather than creed. He also accepted the Gandhian concept of re-organisation of rural life on the basis of self-sufficiency and small-scale production. But the most significant thing was Gandhiji's acceptance of Socialist concept of land reform and nationalization which he had previously opposed. This was no doubt a significant ideological agreement between Gandhiji and the Socialists. This helped to promote a new relationship between them in the struggle for freedom ahead.

Soon after this event, however, serious differences over the method of launching struggle against the British cropped up between the Socialists and Gandhiji when the latter started "Individual Satyagraha" or limited civil disobedience in October, 1940. Over 20,000 Congress-men, as a result went to jails[42] and the Congress in effect ceased to function from Nov., 1940 to December, 1941.[43] The General Secretary of the CSP clarified that the Socialists were not satisfied with the programme and results of the "Individual Satyagraha."[44] Their utter dissatisfaction and frustration were revealed when in October, 1941 some papers were seized from Jayaprakash Narayan, then a security prisoner in Deoli Detention Camp, while he was attempting to pass them over to his wife who had come to meet him.[45] These papers were intended to be handed over to Purushottam Tricumdas, who had succeeded Jayaprakash Narayan as the General Secretary of the CSP and contained instructions for re-organization and consolidation of the Party by bringing in it members of the terrorist organisations like the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republic Socialist Association and contained plan for the formation of an "Underground Wing" of the CSP which Jayaprakash Narayan described as an "illegal organization" designed

42. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem*, Part II (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 250.

43. P. D. Kaushik, *The Congress ideology and Programme*, (Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1964), p. 245.

44. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1941, p. 30.

45. Home Dept., F.N. 8/15/1941—Political (i).

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to engage in "illegal activities." For funds Socialists were instructed to resort to the "old methods."[46]

The British Government published these papers with their own interpretations, obviously in order to create "scare among the public mind regarding the Party's activities"[47] and to propagate that detention of the Socialists was justified. The British Government expected that Gandhiji would issue a statement and condemn the gravely illegal character of Jayaprakash Narayan's plan. Gandhiji did issue a statement and denounced all secret methods and violence but contrary to the expectations of the British, he in effect defended Jayaprakash Narayan by saying that those who like the British Government, engaged in armed warfare and followed all possible secret and violent methods, should be the last person to complain against and pretend to be horrified at the intention of any Indian Nationalist to copy those methods. Gandhiji also declared in categorical terms that all Indian Nationalists were at war with the British Government and that ordinarily and generally this war was non-violent, but if some Indians advocated the use of armed and physical force, why should the British Government which uses the same force, complain?.[48]

The famous Quit India Resolution which was passed at the AICC Session held in August, 1942 with Gandhiji's consent, met, to a large extent, the long-standing demand of the Socialists for declaration of direct action, militant civil disobedience. This resolution besides demanding the "immediate ending of the British rule in India," made a further concession to the Socialists by stating that after the withdrawal of the British, the Government that would be established would promote "the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere" and accepted the principle that it is to these people that "all power and authority must belong."[49]

46. *Ibid.* This was interpreted by the British Government as "Political dacoities".

47. This was C.S.P. General Secretary's view, see *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1941, pp. 27-28.

48. *Modern Review*, Nov., 1941, p. 431.

49. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol II, p. 322.

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The Socialists however, remained dissatisfied with the Gandhian technique of non-violent civil disobedience and wanted that the movement should atleast be accompanied by wide-spread student boycotts and workers' strikes. Their militant activities in 1942 movement no doubt saddened the heart of the Mahatma,[50] but he did not denounce them publicly. The Congress as an organization which remained wedded to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence to the end, never officially accepted the responsibility for the movement of August, 1942, the way it was conducted by the Socialists.

This ideological gap between Gandhiji and the Socialists was considerably filled up with the approach of independence. The Socialists now considerably modified their ideology and liberalized their socialism and tended to accept a Gandhian-oriented socialism.[51] It is said that on the occasion of the Meerut Congress, 1946, Gandhiji supported Nehru who tried to appoint Socialists on important positions, including the Presidency of the Congress, but was blocked by the Patel group.[52] He also made all efforts to bridge the differences between the Socialists and the right-wing of the Congress led by Patel. To help solve these differences a series of conversations took place in Delhi in the last week of May, 1947 between the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Patel group. Gandhiji acted as a mediator.[53] But no solution came out. The Socialists submitted a memorandum to Gandhiji to put up their point of view. In that memorandum the Socialists pointed out that with the achievement of independence the Congress would not be able to maintain its national character and suggested that "the Congress must either dissolve itself on the morrow of freedom or transform itself into a liberal or labour party,"[54] because ac-

50. *Gandhiji's correspondence with the Government*, 1942-44, (Ahmedabad, Nava Jivan Pub. House, 1945).

51. This was given an authentic exposition by the C.S.P. General Secretary, Jayaprakash Narayan in his "My Picture of Socialism" written on the occasion of the Meerut Congress, 1946, see *Janata*, Nov., 24, 1946.

52. Myron Weiner, *Party Politics in India*, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 58.

53. *Janata*, June 1, 1947.

54. *Ibid.*

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cording to them the Congress after this would have out-lived its utility as a national organisation. As future events showed, Gandhiji was greatly impressed by the Socialist logic on the character of the Congress.

The Socialists and Gandhiji held identical views on the issue of the Partition of the country. Both opposed its acceptance. Gandhiji was impressed by the Socialists' sincerity in regretting the "crime committed."[55] On the occasion of the AICC meeting which approved Partition, Gandhiji did not oppose the official resolution. But he is reported to have said, that he would like the AICC to reject the resolution and find out a set of leaders who could not only constitute the Congress Working Committee, but also take charge of the Government.[56] One of the close associates of Gandhiji revealed later :

> "Gandhiji expected the Young Socialist Leaders who had come into close contact with him to be the second line of leadership, when we of the Gandhian age were too old to bear the strenuous burden of the freedom fight which was not expected to end so suddenly and prosaically ..... He gave expression to these ideas often."[57]

The increasing trend of the Socialist acceptance of truthful and non-violent means, and peaceful and pure democratic methods for social change made them more acceptable to Gandhiji, who had already endorsed their programme of social and economic reconstruction as early as 1940. Partition, the mounting corruption in the Congress, disagreement with both Nehru and Patel on certain issues[58] made Gandhiji still closer to the Socialists, who shared his (Gandhiji's) anguish and had willingly kept out from power and the Government offices. It is claimed by some Socialist leaders that during his fast in January, 1948 to restore communal

55. Ram Manohar Lohia, "The New Challange, Positive Politics", *Janata* June 15, 1947.

56. Indian National Congress, *Report of the General Secretary*, Nov. 1946 to Dec. 1948 (Jaipur, 1948), p. 18.

57. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, "Merger", *Vigil*, Oct. 4, 1952.

58. Michael Brecher, *Nehru, A Political Biography* (London, Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 381.

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harmony, Gandhiji had expressed the possibility of leading the Socialist Party for a drive against corruption and establishment of a just social and economic order.[59] The Socialist stand about the character of the Congress received strong support from Gandhiji in his last public document given to the Congress General Secretary on January 30, 1948, barely a few hours before his assassination. In this document, Gandhiji advocated that the Congress as a parliamentary machine and vehicle of political propaganda had outlived its usefulness after the attainment of independence. To keep out of unhealthy competition with other political parties and communal organisations, Gandhiji suggested that the Congress should disband its existing organization and "flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh" to work for the social, moral and economic independence of the country in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns.[60] This idea as noted before was first mooted by the Socialists and would have been of great political advantage to them had it been implemented.

Gandhiji's assassination at this stage of his relationship with the Socialists was a great shock to them. They grew wild with anger at what they called incapacity and negligence of the Congress Government in saving the life of the Father of the Nation. Their leaders hurled serious charges at Patel of complicity with the communal forces and connivance,[61] and demanded that the Congress Government should resign "in symbolic atonement of the evil deed."[62] But the Socialists were a minority in the Congress organization. The Congress Party Meeting which was convened to discuss the situation expressed confidence in the Government under Nehru—Patel Duumvirate.[63]

Fresh attacks on the Socialists started from the right-wing which virtually banned the functioning of the Socialists as a Party

59. Personal Interview with Purushottam Trikumdas on April 5, 1968 at Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.

60. For full text of Gandhiji's statement, Rajkumar, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 1945-1947.

61. *National Herald*, Feb., 4, 1948.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, Feb., 5, 1948.

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with their separate creed and constitution within the Congress.[64] The Socialists thereupon decided to leave the Congress. At the Nasik Conference in March, 1948 where this decision was taken, the General Secretary of Socialist Party, in his report, while still accepting Marxism as a science of social revolution, gave special emphasis on constructive work, adherence to moral values and purer means in politics, among "many things that Gandhiji taught us."[65] A resolution passed at this conference said:

> "Gandhiji's stress upon a common basis of citizenship without respect for religious differences, provincial and caste exclusiveness or economic inequalities provides a foundation of national progress without resorting to aggression or retaliation'.....
>
> The Socialist movement in this land is greatly enriched by Gandhiji's patient efforts to establish these new special values. The Socialist Party gratefully acknowledges this heritage and pledges itself to be true to these principles of social progress which Gandhiji has upheld so nobly in life and death."[66]

Thus, by coming into Gandhiji's contact and influence, the Socialist movement in India underwent considerable change in its character as a movement and its ideology. It no longer remained orthodox Marxist of the early CSP days. Although many of the Socialists still vaguely accepted theories of Marxism but they were in practice more inclined to adhere to the path of democratic socialism and Gandhism at the time of the martyrdom of Gandhiji.

64. This was done by an amendment to the Constitution of the Congress, see, *National Herald*, Feb. 20, 1948.

65. Socialist Party, *India. Report of the Sixth Annual Conference, Nasik*, 1948, pp. 84-103.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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The Role of the Vernacular Press as Representative of Public Opinion during the Formative Years of Indian National Congress (1886-1905)

BY

PREM NARAIN

The press, as we know it today, is an institution of the West. In Europe the press began to exercise a vital influence on the course of events from the eighteenth century and its contribution to French Revolution is obvious by the term 'Fourth Estate'. By the time the East India Company entrenched itself on Indian soil, the printing presses in Britain were fast expanding and enterprising journalists found in India a new and fruitful field for savoury news. From 1780 when Hicky established the first political newspaper in Calcutta till 1857, the press in India was dominated by the British journalists who carried on their tradition of independent thinking and trenchent criticism—even to the extent of being scurrilous.[1] The holocaust of 1857, however, created a sharp division in the Indian press. The white editors began to cry 'Blood for blood' and evinced bitter racial prejudice and no Indian would dare present the 'Other side of the Medal' without being grossly misunderstood. The need for a suitable instrument for the propagation of their views was painfully evident to the Indians and many a patriot took to journalism in the post-1857 period.[2]

1. The journalist of the pre-1857 was a terror to the Indian administrator and the highest British officers were afflicted with "all sorts of hypochondriacal day-fears and nightmares, in which visions of the printing press and the Bible were ever making their flesh creep and their hair to stand erect with horror". (Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*. Vol. II, page 248, London 1854).

2. S. N. Banerji noted that in the seventies of XIX century the press had become such a great instrument of propagation that he was feeling the necessity of an organ for political work. (*A Nation in Making*, page 63, Calcutta 1963).

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The period 1858–1885 is important in the history of Indian journalism for a number of reasons. Not only were thoughtful Indians attracted towards journalism, but a wide gulf separated from their English counterparts. A remarkable feature was the emergence of vernacular press that challenged comparison with the English language press. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's *Som Prakash* rivalled many an established paper, and the Registrar of the Bengal Secretariat in his confidential report to the government acknowledged its editor's ability as well as boldness.[3] Keshav Chandra Sen started his *Sulabh Samāchār* in the seventies, while Motilal Ghosh founded the *Amrita Bazār Patrika* in 1868.[4] The *Bhārat Mitra* which was destined to be the most popular Hindi journal of the last century also appeared from Calcutta with Bal Mukund Gupta as its editor. In 1881, the *Bangabasi* was launched and the paper attained celebrity immediately.[5] In U.P. (then N.W.P.), Raja Ram Pal Singh brought out the *Hindustān* in Hindi and secured the services of stalwarts like Pratap Narain Misra and Madan Mohan Malviya as editors. By 1885 the total number of vernacular papers of a political character was 319 having a circulation of about 150,000. As against these the English language journals numbered only 96 with a circulation of about 59,000.[6]

The difficulties that the vernacular papers in the post–1857 period faced were formidable. The editor could not boast of a university degree and before stumbling into the journalistic profession had to try many other avenues of livelihood. This however, provided him with a better understanding of society and made him more responsive to people's emotions and aspirations. There was

3. "The *Som Prakash*, a weekly paper of 5 years' standing has taken the lead among the periodicals of Calcutta. The editor appears to possess considerable talent and energy of character and his articles are bold and evince much freedom of thought. This paper and the *Dacca Prakash* are the two which are supposed to give most fully and unconstrainedly the sentiments of the people". Note by the Officiating Registrar of Bengal Secretariat (*Report on Native Newspapers*, Bengal 1863, page 8).

4. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* began as a Bengali weekly.

5. In 1883 i.e. within 2 years of its foundation the *Bangabasi* attained a circulation of 8,500—the highest for any journal in the country.

6. Home (Public) B, March 1886, Proceedings Nos. 125-162.

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no love lost between the administration and the native editors; and the police and the magistracy used their rough and ready methods against the vernacular editors on account of their weaker social and economic position. The *Pioneer* openly advocated that these editors deserved police surveillance as the members of criminal tribes.[7] According to the *Pioneer,* the native editor in ninety out of hundred cases was a mere hireling scribe who could write anything if he could go scotfree and at the same time benefit his pocket.[8] *Robekars* were issued to summon the editors of vernacular papers and verbal remonstrances to editors were frequently administered by officers.[9] The magistrate of Lucknow in the days of plague and famine summoned all the vernacular editors to his house and warned them against publishing any inflammatory article even if it was a translation from some English newspaper.[10] Editors of even influential vernacular journals suffered harrassment and humiliation. The editor of *Sansodhini* was robbed and his house set on fire for his criticism of a local officer.[11]

The publication of a vernacular paper was not a profitable venture. The circulation of the paper was inhibited by a number of factors; first, the area in which that particular vernacular was spoken; secondly, the stratum to which its clientele belonged was economically poorer and so the subscriptions were in arrears and pathetic appeals had to be made to the defaulters in the columns of the newspapers. Summarising the difficulties of these newspapers the *Hindustani,* an important Urdu weekly of Lucknow, edited by Munshi Ganga Prasad Verma, observed, "the native newspapers pay their way with difficulty—the proprietors find it very difficult to realise subscriptions; while the other, the Anglo-Indian Press and some Anglo-Indian officers are always ready to bring them into trouble. ... Those men who think that the pub-

7. *Pioneer,* December 24, 1897.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Paisa Akhbar,* December 2, 1899 (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Punjab* 1899, Week ending December 9).
10. *Bangabasi,* August 7, 1897. (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1897, Week ending August 14).
11. *Sanjivani,* July 21, 1888. (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1888, Week ending July 28).

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lishing of a newspaper is a good means of making money, would do well to look at the long list of defunct list of native newspapers which were in existence not long ago in Lucknow." The *Hindustani* then gives a long list of 34 newspapers of Lucknow of which only 8 survived.[12] The present-day practice of publishing vernacular journals as associates of the English Language papers was not in vogue and the poorly equipped vernacular paper could ill afford to subscribe to Reuter or to employ correspondents. Perforce it tried to pry into official secrets through the clerks[13] and the officers were driven to frenzy by such attitude of the journals. No less a person than Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, advised the civilians to defy the native press.[14] It was only the sense of a mission that sustained the editors of the vernacular press against heavy odds. The all-powerful government held out attractive baits for weaning them away from their purpose but it failed miserably. The few that succumbed to the temptation of securing government advertisement and of government subsidy in the form of purchase of a sizable number of copies, found the entire vernacular press arrayed against them. For example, in the Punjab, the *Haftewar* and the *Punjab Patriot* which accepted government patronage were at once named by their counterparts. The matter was considered so serious that there was a meeting of all prominent editors of the Punjab to protest against the policy of the government and to safeguard the freedom of the press. The editors who assembled were Maulvi Mahboob Ali Khan (*Paisa Akhbar*), Hakeem Alla Din (*Mulla Do Piaza*), Maulvi Firozuddin (*Mashir-i-Hind*), Munshi Jagat Narain (*Kohinoor*), Pandit Gopi Nath (*Akhbar-i-am*), Maulvi Din Mohammad (*Sada-i-Hind*), Munshi Pohlomal and Lala Hiralal Kapur (*Punjab Samachar*),

12. *Hindustani*, October 3, 1897 (*Report on Native Newspapers, N.W.P.*, 1897, Week ending October 13).

13. Clerks were intimately associated with vernacular newspapers, e.g. Tinkauri Banerji was one of the proprietors of the *Praja Bandhu*, a very outspoken Bengalese weekly published from Chandranagar, then a French territory. Feeling helpless against the paper as it lay outside British jurisdiction, the government dismissed Tinkauri Banerji who was a clerk. (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1889, Week ending, November 16).

14. (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1895, Week ending, December 28).

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and Lala Jai Gopal (*Aftab-i-Punjab*).[15] In U.P. the (*Aligarh Institute Gazette*), a mouthpiece of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan toed the official line and in return got all the government notifications for publication and was able to sell nearly a half of its copies to the government. The result was that this paper too was quoted as an example of a servile paper and could never be popular.[16] Only the association of the wealthy aristocracy and of the M.A.O. College could ensure its survival. After the death of Sir Sayyid in 1898, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* also came to a close. In 1899, it was revived as the *M.A.O. College Magazine and Aligarh Institute Gazette*) but it ceased to be of any force.

The burning patriotism of the vernacular editors was in sharp contrast to the docile attitude and the spirit of mendicancy prevailing in the Congress circle of the day. W. C. Bonnerjea, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Dadabai Naoroji, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Lal Mohan Ghosh and Raja Ram Pal Singh, all of whom were the architects of the Congress, had seen English society at close quarters and had taken to European way of living. They had implicit faith in the goodness of the British people and were confident of securing political rights for their country if only they could catch the ear of the British Parliament by organising political agitations in India as was the case in free countries. To get speedier results they also aimed to educate British electorate by creating a propaganda agency of which the '*India*' played a prominent part. It is interesting to assess the reactions of the vernacular press to the Congress approach.

The *Bangabasi* was the most widely-read newspaper of the country during the first fifteen years of Congress. It was issued both in Bengali and Hindi from Calcutta with Jogendra Chandra Bose as proprietor and Kristo Chander Banerjea as editor. It was an age of weeklies, and the circulation of the *Bangabasi* was so wide that the combined total of all Hindi or Urdu weeklies pub-

15. *Kohinoor* March 5, 1895 gives a detailed account of the meeting. (*Reports on Native Newspapers Punjab*, 1895, Week ending, March 9).

16. The number of copies published by the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* was only 460 in 1895, and of these nearly half were purchased by the U.P. government. (*Report on Native Newspapers, N.W.P.*, 1895).

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lished in the country suffered in comparison with the *Bangabasi*'s,[17] which ruthlessly criticised the Indian National Congress. In social matters the *Bangabasi* was conservative to the point of being retrograde since it held sea voyage as a sacrilege for a Hindu and led the opposition to the Age of Consent Bill. In political matters the views of the *Bangabasi* were ahead of the Congress by several decades and were very much akin to those which Tilak held and propagated through the columns of the *Kesari*, the most widely-read Marathi journal, which on account of its association with Tilak has assumed greater limelight; but if the circulation of a newspaper is any index of its influence, we may safely infer that the *Bangabasi* was much ahead of the *Kesari*.[18] The English-educated Indians who were the leaders of the Congress were the butt of ridicule in the *Bangabasi*. Surendra Nath Banerjea was called a model babu and it wondered how an imperial power could abnegate its position and privilege only on account of the cries of the beggar-subjects. Summing up its attitude it wrote, "We do not want the Congress because it cannot serve any earthly purpose. The British policy is not going to be changed by crying. That the opinion of the Indians has no value has been proved many a time . . . The British Government has its own way of promoting the welfare of Indians, you cannot change it. They know their business well."[19] Liberty and equality the *Bangabasi* held, were slogans fit for the strong but if a subject country dangled with these, she would only land herself into trouble by inviting the wrath of the alien ruler. To the Congress insistense that all the grievances of the people might be adequately covered in the press and publicised, the *Bangabasi* wrote, "It is sedition to give free vent to one's feelings. It is creating disaffection to ventilate one's grievances. It is meanness to find fault with an official. And yet we are asked speak out our minds to advocate the interests of our countrymen

17. From 1886 to 1898 the circulation of the *Bangabasi* was 20,000, and that of the *Hindi Bangabasi* was 10,000 in 1895.

18. In 1901, the circulation of the *Kesari* was 13,000. The *Bangabasi* had a circulation of 26,000 and the Hindi *Bangabasi* a circulation of 10,000.

19. *Bangabasi*, November 23, 1895 (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1895, Week ending November 30).

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even if they are opposed to the interests of the rulers."[20] Political emancipation, in its opinion would follow national regeneration based on religious strength and self-confidence. The Babus were charged with playing into the hands of Hume and Bradlaugh and being insincere to their own countrymen who were being subjected to bombastic speeches by those whose tongue was itching, and who would not devote themselves to any constructive work like the deepening of tanks or starting any industry in the country. In 1890, it wrote, "There is not a grain of honesty or sincerity anywhere in or about the Congress movement. What its supporters do to make it look big is to hold jolly meetings of friends in different parts of the country and immediately to wire the press that grand meetings have been held . . . They have been detected lying more than once, but utterly shameless they are, they care very little for such detection."[21] The Congress-demand of securing for Indians a share in services was derided by the *Bangabasi,* as dishonourable as well as unrealistic. "The English-educated among ourselves after learning that liberty is needful and subjection a curse, demand at once that the Government should appoint us to all high posts in public services. We also demand a share in the administration and ask the government to let us have an entrance into the council chambers. In short we demand that the British people should entrust into our hands the internal administration of the country. Like the household idol in a Hindu family they should be satisfied with silently watching over our doings. . . satisfied with its small share of prerogatives. Now we make all these demands with a beat of drums—in newspapers, in public meetings—with or without rhyme or reason. We have no strength in our body, we have absolutely no strength of mind, but we have concentrated our whole force in our tongue which we go on plying. But the beauty of the whole thing is that although we make so many monostrous demands, we have to make them in a suppliant mood. And there we have to curb our tongue."

20. *Bangabasi,* October 30, 1897, (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1897, Week ending November 6).

21 *Bangabasi, August* 2, 1890, (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1890, Week ending, August 9).

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"Now these 'Friends of India' are very shrewd. They pat these English-educated and say we the English people only want spread of commerce and extension of territories. You want liberty and employment. Let us make a bargain. You hold Congress meetings and agitate, and, we make money."

"We are not in the secret of the Congress nor like to be initiated into its mysteries. Politics is a subject too high for us. Let the rulers look after our welfare—the English missionaries have kindly taken charge of our material prosperity and the English officials of our worldly wants and grievances. There is thus a combination of *Dharma, Artha* and *Kama,* and our salvation is at hand."

"There is something more that the friends of India say to their Indian admirers. You are no doubt very able men but you are half-civilised. You are barbarians, your ancestors were barbarians. You have not emancipated your women, you marry your daughters at an early age and do not let them taste the sweets of courtship. So try to be civilised. Gird up your loins and try to be earnest, and in the meantime we try to accomplish our ends. To your National Congress, therefore, add a tail and call it Social Congress."[22]

The *Bangabasi* apart, the Congress could claim a large number of vernacular papers among its sympathisers but if their observations are closely examined, it will be seen that their attitude to Congress was based more on prudence than on principles. Conscious of the limitations in the path of India's political progress, they valued the Congress as an emerging organisation to ventilate India's point of view by people who had drunk deep at European culture and so these newspapers put up with the limitations inherent in the situation. However, they were confident that truth would prevail and the Congress would be weaned out to a more realistic appraisal of the situation in course of time. Moreover, it was thought undesirable to put forward any proposal that might startle the British public.[23] The *Hitavadi* which after 1900 out-

22. *Bangabasi,* November 9, 1895 (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1395, Week ending, November 16).

23. *Sahachar,* November 12, 1890 (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1890, Week ending, November 22).

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stripped the *Bangabasi* was an ardent supporter of the Congress[24] and so were the *Akhbar-i-Am* of Lahore and the *Bharat Jiwan* of *Varanasi*—both being very popular journals in the Punjab and U.P. respectively.[25] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* though an English Language journal after 1878, retained its outspoken tone which characterised it as a Bengali weekly earlier. These pro-Congress papers gave full publicity to Congress resolutions and shielded it from the attacks of Anglo-Indian papers like the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Anglo Indian* and the *Englishman;* but all the same they were fully conscious of the fallacies in the Congress stand and advised their countrymen to rely on their own strength rather than on British justice. A comparison of the *Bangabasi* an anti-Congress paper, and the other pro-Congress papers like the *Silachar*, the *Dainik o Samachar Chandrika*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will bear out that they shared each others sentiments about the futility of the Congress-brand of agitation. In an editorial headed 'The Nature of British Rule', the *Bangabasi* observed, "Ability and fitness first, ... privileges may be obtained by begging but begging will not bring you fitness and ability."

"...Inspire Englishman with fear and victory will be yours. Then only will the victory be yours when you become fit and able, when you will become men and when the sovereign will begin to fear you."

"Do you, therefore, eschew all luxury and effiminacy. Have you not read the History of Sparta in Greece? There were no Babus in Sparta. A jackal might be eating into the vitals of a Spartan youth but not a word will escape his lips or groan be heard. Learn to taste the Spartan sauce..... Real strength is based on self restraint."[26]

As early as 1886, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observed, "It has come to be known that political agitations will do us no good un-

24. In 1900, the circulation of the *Hitavadi* was 35,000 and the *Bangabasi's* was 26,000.

25. *Bharat Jiwan* was the most widely circulated of the journals published from U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

26. *Bangabasi*, July 6, 1895 (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1895 Week ending July 13).

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less they are backed by force. We have not that force; and, therefore, it is a dissipation of energy to cry when there is no prospect of your being listened to. Free America would have been reduced to the condition of India if the people of that country had not extorted their liberty from their masters. So did Canada, which threatened to join the American Union unless they were given a Parliament of their own. This threat secured their desire. Ireland is now doing the same thing. The chief argument by which Mr. Gladstone tried to make his policy of Home Rule acceptable to his countrymen was the declaration that Mr. Parnell had a power behind him. . . . . "

"We must then create a force before we can succeed in securing a gift from our masters. What is to be the nature of that force? How is that force to be created? And how is that force to be created without awakening the susceptibilities of our jealous masters? These are then the questions before us which require solution. The era of speeches, resolutions, petitions is passed. It is now time to solve the aforesaid questions for real and substantial work. Now, who is to solve the above questions? Not we. We may make the attempt some time to answer them but in the meantime our countrymen will clearly see what are the real questions before them and attempt their solution."[27] The *Silchar* published a dialogue between the teacher and his pupil which opened thus:—

Pupil — Sir. In what relation do Englishmen stand to the people of India?

Teacher — The same in which a tiger stands to the lamb ... (Like the Tiger) The Englishmen broke the necks and drank the blood of innumerable Indians . . . . "[28]

In their everyday observations, the vernacular press gave a lie to the benevolent nature of the British rule inspite of their support-

27. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 19, 1886 Home (Public), January 1890, Proceeding No. 320.

28. *Silchar*, August 25, 1890. The opinion of the Advocate General was sought with a view to prosecute this paper under S. 124 A I.P.C. Home (Public), 1890, Proceeding Nos, 399-402.

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ing the Congress. A number of articles appeared about the foundation and development of British rule in India. These historical articles were impulsive reactions of the patriotic Indians to the scholarly writings of Mill, Elphinstone, Elliot, Wheeler and Smith who were providing a moral basis to British rule in India. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's essays on the History of Bengal appeared in the *Bangadarshan* from 1874 to 1884 and blazed the trail for new writers, who in many cases appealed to the emotions rather than the reason of their readers. Henry Beveridge's *Trial of Nand Kumar: A Narrative of Judicial Murder* which serially appeared in the *Calcutta Review* from 1877 to 1878 and came out in book form in 1886, gave a grit to historical writings to expose the treachery, injustice and vengeance that lay at the root of British rule in India.[29] Such articles were so prolific that two top journals—the *Basumati* and the *Hitavadi* pointed to the new fad of writing books on History and regretted that the writers did not usually had the necessary qualifications.[30]

That the throbbing pulse of a resurgent nation was to be found in the press rather than in the Indian National Congress, is evident. It is significant that the most outspoken critic of the pusillanimous policies of the Congress was the most popular journal of the country, and even the pro-Congress journals respected it so much that when the *Bangabasi* was prosecuted in 1891 for sedition and defamation, there was a spontaneous outburst of sympathy resulting in the raising of a fund and the formation of a Native Press Association.[31] No pro-Congress paper joined issues with the *Bangabasi* for its criticism of the Congress. The observations of the *Banganivasi* in this respect may be taken to be typical of the

29. e.g. *Samay*, September 6, 1895, published accounts of Nand Kumar written by Biman Bihari Bhattacharya who concluded that the foundations of British rule were laid in blood. (*Report on Native News Papers, Bengal*, 1895, Week ending September 14).

30. The *Basumati* outstripped the *Hitavadi*, in circulation after 1905; *Basumati* August 31, 1899; *Hitavadi* Sept. 22, 1899 noted the proliferation of Historical writings (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal* 1899. Week ending September 9 and September 30).

31. Buckland, *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, Vol. II, pp. 918-919, Calcutta 1901. Also *Report on Native Newspapers*, 1891, August.

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pro-Congress press; the *Bangabasi* was described as "an object of endearment to the Bengalis .... (it) has been doing endless good ... It possesses great powers of writing but its writings are characterised by great obscenity."[32] (We do not know the exact Bengali word which the Translator translated as 'obscenity'. Possibly, recklessness was meant).[33]

Every leader of a subject people to be successful had to appeal to the religious and social susceptibilities of his countrymen; and the most outstanding ones have also been obscurantists to a degree. The early Congress leaders, however, represented the most progressive section of society and upto 1894, the Social Congress was an adjunct of the Indian National Congress. The Congress did well to untether itself from social reform—an issue which on one side would have opened flood gates of differences among the progressives themselves, and on the other would have made the Congress positively unpopular among the masses. The vernacular press (excluding the denominational press which was quite sizeable at the time)[34] did not concern itself with advocating any social reform consistently as did the *Bengalee*[35] about huge marriage expenses and dowry. The method of the vernacular press in instilling national pride was twofold. Firstly, it vigorously shielded Indian society from the spiteful attacks on Purdah, the incompetence and slovenly habits of Indians, the prevalence of corruption in the *Amlah* (clerical posts manned by Indians), and general indifference to veracity. Secondly, it highlighted incidents of English society so as to point out their loose sexual morals, unabashed consumption of liquor, indulgence in gambling and horse race, love for lucre, and, rank prejudice against coloured people. All sections of the vernacular press were one in condemning western civilisation. The *Rahbar–i–Hind* of Lahore concluded that western civilisation led to intemperance, adultery, gambling and

32. *Banganivasi*, August 14, 1891 (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1891, Week ending, August 22).

33. Translations from the vernacular papers were made by the translator and submitted for perusal of officers above the rank of Commissioner; now available as *Reports on Native Newspapers*.

34. These were the Arya Samajist papers, and papers like the *Khattri Hitkari*, the *Kayastha Conference Prakash*.

35. The *Bengalee* was edited by S. N. Banerjea.

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cheating.[36] The *Dabdaba-i-Kaisari* of Bareilly suggested translation of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic works into English to improve English morals.[37] In the heat of the controversy, the vernacular editors often indulged in intemperate language and their judgement was at times vitiated; but this only brought them nearer to the people. The gulf between the ruler and the ruled grew so wide that well-meaning persons and measures associated with the government were frequently derided or ridiculed. Lady Dufferin Fund was called Lady Dufferin *Fand*[38] (Artifice); the Queen's Diamond Jubilee as *Dian* (murderers') jubilee; Lord Hamilton was nicknamed Lord *Shaljam*, (because he had advised growing turnips during years of scanty rainfall and people believed that the consumption of turnips would lead to infertility); Curzon's solicitude for female education was associated with the last syllable of his name *Zan* (female); Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutant Governor of Bengal similarly was called *Illat Lat* (Lord Trouble). This was undoubtedly unseemly and against the journalistic norms, but the political effect of such writings was immense.

It is interesting to note that the Age of Consent Bill and the Plague Rules which aroused people to fever pitch in the last decade of the nineteenth century were basically progressive and were initially supported by the educated section. Left to itself, the government would not have bothered with a measure like the Age of Consent Bill especially after the lesson learnt in 1857: but it was so persistently pestered by some sections which it mistook as representatives of the dumb millions that the government felt duty-bound to amend the marriage law[39] after a child-wife also gave

36. *Rahbar-i-Hind*, June 15, 1891 (*Report on Native Newspapers, Punjab*, 1891, Week ending June 27).

37. *Dabdaba-i-Kaisari*, December 29, 1889 (*Report on Native Newspapers*, N.W.P., 1890, Week ending, January 6).

38. *Hitavadi*, June 28, 1895, (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1895. Week ending, July 6).

39. The position of the government before the introduction of the Age of Consent Bill was best summarised by the *Pioneer* which was then published from Allahabad and had the reputation of being very close to official circles. In a leading article, dated January 2, 1888, it writes, "In October 1886, the Government of India had issued a resolution declaring it inexpedient for government to interfere with the existing Hindu Marriage law. But the

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up the ghost as a result of sexual intercourse with her grown up husband, Hari Maiti. But, the government were only reckoning without their host and a storm rose in the vernacular press of the country. People felt aghast at a measure which interfered with their religion and sought to regulate their bedrooms. Gloomy forebodings were made about other enactments that might be in the offing. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, the provisions of the Bill formed topic of animated conversation together with the discourses from the theologians about the obligation to perform the sacred rite of *Garbhadhan*. The *Mihir O Sudhakar* a communal Muslim paper reported in enthusiastic language the grand assemblage of about 2,00,000 persons at Calcutta Maidan;[40] the *Bangabasi* like several other papers was in the forefront of agitation and suffered prosecution for writing three articles—'Our Condition', 'A Revealed Form of English Ruler', 'An Outspoken Policy is the Best for Uncivilised Persons'.[41]

The Plague rules being associated with the detention of Natu brothers and execution of Chapekar brothers are well known. But peoples' imagination was whipped up not so much by the oppression of the police as by the mystery surrounding the origin of the plague at that time and by idiosyncrasies which made enlightened people laugh. Medical Scientists were putting forth a plethora of theories as to the origin of the disease[42] and the vernacular press found a suitable occasion to expose the ignorance of western

whole subject was reopened in the spring when a Bombay High Court decided that Lady Rukmabai would have to go to prison for refusing conjugal rights to a man to whom she had been married while yet an infant. At home Professor Maxmuller and the *Times* took the matter up and argued strongly for a change in law; while in India Sir Lepel Griffin and the Dewan Raghunath Rao of Indore urged the appointment of a commission to report on the redrafting of Hindu law. The suggestion was not acted upon, but the government issued a circular asking for the opinion of the local government on the subject."

40. *Mihir O Sudhakar*, February 27, 1891 (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1891, Week ending March 7). A number of other papers also report this meeting and describe it as unparalleled.

41. The prosecution was withdrawn as a result of contrition expressed by the *Bangabasi*.

42. It was supposed to have been caused by contagion, infection, filth or slink, fearsome morbid condition of the soil (*Indian Nation*, May 30, 1898). *Pioneer*, April 9, 1904 also discusses these theories.

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science; side by side news of patients being cured at the hands of Hakims and Vaids were published so as to bring out the obstinacy of the government which did not call a conference of indigenous medical practitioners. The feeling of a lady's pulse by male doctors at a period when Purdah women put a cloth on their wrist to avoid direct contact with the physician, the examination of the arms pit of a lady for the plague bubo, the putting off the same thermometer in the mouths of all people irrespective of their caste, led to writings like, "The dirt in English woman's body is washed away with soap and water, but this Indian woman if dishonoured, is not purified even by burning in *Tushanal.*"[43] The government was urged to let people cherish the faith that none could die before the appointed hour; and that if it was very keen to take some anti-plague measures, it might well order the shooting down of the inhabitants of an infected locality.[44] About plague vaccine, people's fear make interesting reading today, but they were taken very seriously by the vast majority then. Incidentally several deaths occurred from bad fluid at certain places and these happenings duly publicised by the vernacular press confirmed the worst suspicions of the public. The *Pioneer* rightly observed that the ignorant people cannot be supposed to understand that the fluid may be different though the process of inoculation was the same.[45] It was the vernacular press that gave vent to popular apprehensions about the vaccine—its being a slow poison, its debilitating effect on human system, there being no guarantee of its not containing any objectionable material which a devout Hindu or Muslim would not take. Even the celebrated innovator Dr. Hafkinne was not spared. The *Oudh Akhbar*, the best seller daily of U.P. published a rumour that Dr. Hafkinne being of Russian origin invented this prophylactic to kill Indians and to make them lose faith in the government.[46] Another paper advised the government not to call plague as plague, in the same manner as Indians did not

43. *Vikrampur*, March 12, 1897 (*Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1897 Week ending March 20).

44. *Burdwan Sanjivani*, March 23, 1897 (*Reports on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, Week ending April 30).

45. *Pioneer*, April 9, 1904.

46. There was great rivalry between England and Russia at the time. *Oudh Akhbar*, June 4, 1897 (*Report on Native Newspapers*, N.W.P., 1897 Week ending June 16).

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call small pox by name. The connection of rats with plague was evident but no consistent theory had been evolved; the government, however, advised people to destroy these rodents. This anger of the British lion against the mouse led the *Hitavadi* publish a cartoon depicting a rat petitioning the government for sparing his species.[47] Public apprehension about government intentions became so marked that an ambulance was taken as a harbinger of death and in Fyzabad a populous fair presented deserted looks as soon as a rumour set in that a doctor was coming for inoculation.[48] In some quarters it was believed that inculation was an artifice of the government to detect the *Mahdi* or the *Kalki* whose birth was being prophesied and whose body, it was believed, would emanate milk instead of blood when inoculated.[49] Politically, the epidemic proved a great benefactor and the *Jami-ul-Ulum*, a bitter critic of the government (and of Mr. Rand whose murder it called as one of *Rand* widow), was sagacious enough to observe that the Hindus and Muslims stood united, and, that the plague was bound to depart but the unity might stay.[50] It is also significant that the *Bangabasi* which had been a very conservative paper. relented its attitude in respect of plague rules, many of which it supported and advised the people not to make a mountain of a molehill.[51] The result was that the *Bangabasi* lost its premier position from 1900.

If the History of the earlier years of the Congress has to be people-oriented, one has to look beyond the official papers, Congress resolutions or its leaders. It has often been believed that

47. *Hitavadi*, April 22, 1898 *Report on Native Newspapers, Bengal*, 1898 *Week ending* April 30).

48. *Oudh Panch*, June 23, 1897, *Oudh Akhbar*, June 28, 1898 (*Report on Native Newspapers*, N.W.P. 1898 Week ending June 29).

49. *Nasim-i-Agra*, April 23, 1897 (*Report on Native Newspapers*, N.W.P., 1897 Week ending June 2).

50. *Jam-i-Ulum*, March 21, 1897 (*Report on Native Newspapers*, N.W.P., 1897 Week ending March 31). This Urdu weekly published from Moradabad was edited by Munshi Amba Prasad. The *Azad* (Lucknow) September 3, 1897 commenting on the prosecution and imprisonment of the editor wrote that initially the *Jam-i-Ulum* started as a Theosophist paper but later delved into politics.

51. Cf., S. R. Mehrottra, *India and the Commonwealth*, 1885-1929, p. 30, London, 1965.

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the action and interaction of the Indian National Congress and the Government shaped the political History of India, that the sub-continent developed hostility to the British because an unimaginative Home government did not concede even very moderate measures of reforms which the Viceroys recommended and the Congress asked. But this view overlooks the power and influence of the vernacular press which happened to be the most representative institution at the period when elected legislatures did not exist and when the press was enjoying the liberty granted to it by Lord Ripon.[52] The Congress met only annually for political deliberations and did not give itself a constitution till 1899. Its resolutions like the Indianisation of Services, Jury trial, Separation of Executive from Judiciary, reduction in Home Charges did not concern the common man so much, as police oppression; the outrage of Indian ladies' honour at the hands of white soldiers; planters and railwaymen; cases of racial arrogance in everyday life, the plight of famine-stricken people, and, the affronts suffered by Indian Princes of ancient lineage. The vernacular press, therefore, could claim greater emotional affinity with the people by providing food which catered to popular taste.

It is suggestive to compare the reactions of the British to the 'native' press and to the Congress. In their private and confidential correspondence. Dufferin, Landsdowne, Elgin and Curzon did not consider Congress dangerous for their rule. But it was different with the vernacular press. The imperial interests knew where the shoe was pinching. As early as 1886, the *Englishman* of Calcutta in an editorial wrote, "The attitude of chronic opposition assumed by the native press towards all government measures does much to weaken its influence and diminish its usefulness."[53] Beneath professions of profuse loyalty, the undercurrent of irreconcilability between the ruler and the ruled flowed unabatedly in the vernacular press. The *Pioneer* charged the 'native' editor for manufacturing discontent and for turning a malcontent into a martyr.[54] Lord Landsdowne also noticed the uncompromising hos-

52. Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act in 1881.
53. *Englishman*, March 19, 1886.
54. *Pioneer*, June 1, 1887.

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tility of the 'native' papers which in his opinion were so much biassed that even if the Government took steps to provide it with accurate information, it would not care to get at the truth.[55] This hostility against alien rule was shared by the people to such an extent that Landsdowne rightly inferred that if any newspaper was reasonably suspected (by people) of being constantly supplied with information by the government, "it would be regarded with suspicion and would lose much of its popularity."[56] W. S. Maitland, Private Secretary to Lord Cross in a confidential despatch wrote, "I do read extracts or some of them from the native press. It must be most aggravating not to be able to tackle these reptiles of papers. It is a very difficult question to decide what to do with our present House of Commons and free press here."[57] Elgin, however, found the native press useful in as much as it gave him an indication of what the people were thinking about the government;[58] but Curzon as well as Hamilton were concerned at its tendency to poison the mind of the uneducated by constant vilification of the English rule.[59] The difficulty of combining free press with an autocratic rule was being realised. But before the liberal Morley came out with his Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, sufficient amount of picric acid had flown through the pens of vernacular editors.

55. Minutes of Lansdowne, May 9, 1892 (*Lansdowne Papers*, p. 427, Microfilm at the National Archives of India.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Letter No. 60, from Maitland to Col Ardagh (*Landsdowne Papers, op.cit.*).

58. Letter from Hamilton to Curzon, Aug. 3, 1899 (*Curzon Papers*, p. 123, Microfilm at the N.A.I.).

59. *Ibid.*

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The Danes in Travancore

BY

K. K. KUSUMAN

The capture of medieval trade routes by the Turks compelled the European nations to abandon the traditional land route to the East, and explore alternative means to tide over the difficulty. It was left to Portugal to reach the East first, Vascoda Gama landing at Calicut in 1498. They undertook several mercantile voyages and made immense profit by commercial transactions; and this ultimately brought many a European power to the East. However, the Scandinavian states held a low rank[1] among the commercial countries; but as compared with Sweden and Norway, Denmark had the lead in mercantile attempts, and they made some efforts to move side by side with the commercial enterprises of other nations.

The first Danish East India Company was formed at Copenhagen on 17th March 1616, a royal patent being granted to it by Christian IV.[2] However, it was to Greenland that the first voyage was undertaken by the Danes and the King selected Captain John Monck as the leader of the expedition.[3] This was a disastrous adventure, and from the crew of sixty four only the Captain and two others returned to Denmark to narrate the pathetic setback they experienced.[4]

Even in the midst of this calamity the Danish King was looking ahead for a voyage to India. To carry out this ambitious scheme

1. Clive Day, *A History of Commerce* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1940), p. 348.

2. *J.R.A.S.* (1898), p. 626. According to James Burgess it was in 1612. (See *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 70). But the English Factory Records, is in agreement with the date given in the *J.R.A.S.* (See *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p. XLV.

3. Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I, p. iii.

4. Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, Vol. II, (London, 1801), p. 281.

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he had the assistance and technical advice of some experienced Dutchmen who had entered his service. While the preparations were in progress, in 1617 there appeared on the scene a Dutch Under-merchant by name Marcellius de Boschhouwer[5] as the Plenipotentiary of the King of Ceylon, where he had spent three years. Under his instigation, on 30th March 1618, the Danish king fitted out five ships "under the command of a Danish noble Ove Gjedde, and the fleet set sail on 29th November 1618."[6] On their way to Ceylon Boschhouwer died and the Ceylon monarch repudiated his claims as false. Meanwhile, another expedition under Crape also reached Ceylon where he had a confrontation with the Portuguese. Sensing the unwelcome circumstances, they thought it prudent to seek their fortunes in the mainland, and in November 1620 the Nayak of Tanjore permitted them to settle at Tranquebar. "There a rudimentary fort was built, under the name of Dansborg and Hendrik Hess was left in charge with 'about twenty persons and a few cannon".[7] The cession of Tranquebar was effected subject to the payment of an annual rent of Rs. 3111 to the Nawab.[8] Later on they secured another foothold at Serampore on the Hoogly.

In Travancore the Danes had two settlements, one at Colachel and the other at Edava. Both settlements were suggestive of their mean existence as traders. "It is a thatched House" says Captain Cope on Edava factory, "of a mean Aspect and their Trade answers every way to the Figure their Factory makes".[9] The plight of the Colachel settlement was worse than this. Even as late as 1760 Abbe Raynal recorded[10] the poverty that hovered about this settlement owing to negligible trade transactions.

5. *J.R.A.S., Op.cit.,* p. 626.
6. *Ibid.* (According to the *English Factory Records* (1618-21) the voyage undertaken on this date was not under Gjedde, but under Royelant Crape. But Donold Ferguson in an explanatory letter to *J.R.A.S.,* 1898, (p. 626) says that Crape's mission and status were only those of an advance party and the maiden voyage was made under Gjedde).
7. William Foster, *English Factories,* (1618-21), p. xlv.
8. Venkaswami Row, *District Manual of Tanjore,* p. 124.
9. Captain Cope, *A New History of the East Indies,* p. 135.
10. *History of the Settlements of Trade etc.,* Vol. I, p. 367. The factory of the Danes at Kolhachy is nothing more than a small store house where

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It was a fact that of all the foreign powers who established themselves on the Malabar coast the Danes were the least successful. There were several factors which brought about this inevitability. The limited resources of Denmark, with its numerically inferior man-power, were no match for those of their fellow traders like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. The superior military power at the disposal of these powers gave them respect and recognition among the natives while the Danes were never interested in ostentatious militarism and manoeuvring. While others entered into treaties and contracts with native princes and merchants for the fulfilment of which they employed threats and intimidation, the Danes disliked such practices and remained satisfied with what they got by fair means.

In 1624 the English tried to get a foothold at Tanjore, where the Danes had already established themselves and this was followed by stiff opposition from the latter.[11] But the opposition was shortlived; they came to an amicable settlement very soon. Later on, the Danes even carried letters to the English,[12] while the former were given passes on English ships. In Malabar, while the Dutch were resorting to power and pressure to make the contracting princes to fulfil the pepper contracts,[13] the Danes, like the English, were prepared to follow the market prices. Such candid and inoffensive policies of the Danes could not make any headway in their trade prospects, and this trend gradually resulted in decay and deterioration of their settlements.

Meanwhile the Dutch tried to secure Tranquebar from the Danes by negotiation,[14] the failure of which made them the bitter enemies of the latter. In retaliation the Dutch demanded in the third article of the treaty of 1665 with Travancore, among other

they might nevertheless be supplied with two lakhs weight of pepper. But such is their indolence or their poverty that they made but one purchase and that of a very small quantity these ten years. (Quoted in K. P. Padmanabha Menon: '*History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 357).

11. James Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 81.
12. *The English Factories*, 1630-33, p. 183.
13. *Dutch Record* No. 13, Trans. by Galletti, p. 23.
14. T.I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar*, (Trivandrum, 1948), p. 10.

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things, the expulsion of the Danes and the denial of trade facilities to them in the kingdom.[15] Provoked by this the Danes furnished weapons to the Zamorin of Calicut, in his wars with the Dutch.[16]

In 1726 the English established a factory at Edava, which further reduced the Danish trade. In the light of growing English influence in the locality, it was futile to stick to that settlement, and the Danes began to concentrate more on Colachel. In 1729 Martanda Varma succeeded to the throne of Travancore and he was a benefactor of the English. Still, whenever the English failed to satisfy his demand for weapons he turned to the Danes[17] and this was seriously noted by the English chief of Anjengo. With the co-operation of the Danes, Martanda Varma and his successor Rama Varma successfully counteracted the English pressure for increasing the pepper supply, and met with ease their own necessity for arms.

In 1772 there was a major change in the status of the Royal Asiatic Company. By the Charter of 23rd July 1772, the Danish king enforced "the abolition of the Company's monopoly of trade with India under the Danish flag. Private Danish merchants were now permitted to take part in this trade".[18]

In Travancore the Danes indulged in covert and overt trade transactions. On 6th March 1772 Peter Elwin French, the Chief of Anjengo, informed their Board of the intelligence report on the Danish supply of iron and copper to Travancore for which they got pepper in return.[19] The English protested and Joao De Faria,

15. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

16. Galletti, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

17. *Fort St. George Records, Military Department, General* No. 8, p. 899. "As the Danes on one side supplied him (Travancore) with arms, etc. and the Danes and other Europeans at times did the same at Colechy, for which they got pepper, he withheld pepper from us under the pretence that we show'd ourselves less friendly to him than others."

18. Ole Feldback, *India Trade under the Danish Flag*, p. 13.

19. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1772, Vol. XII, p. 63. The Chief acquainted the Board, he had received certain intelligence of the arrival of a Danish *shift* at Colachel, and that she has landed 3000 bars of iron and 3000 cattys of copper on account of the king, who has delivered them 100 candies of pepper.

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the linguist of Vizhinjam, — here the English had a warehouse — was deputed to verify the intelligence report, and after an enquiry he confirmed the report.[20] On 1st March 1772, again there was report from the linguist that the Danes were active at Kovalam, a place in between Vizhinjam and Trivandrum, intending to ship off pepper and coir.[21]

Despite fair relations with Travancore, the Danes supplied arms to the Nawab of Arcot for his adventure against Travancore.[22] The Danes bothered about neither scruples nor discretion. Providing the Nawab with weapons by no means prevented the Asiatic Company from selling them to his enemy, Haidar Ali of Mysore (and curiously enough Travancore also got a share of the distribution) on whose attack they had already supplied the Nawab.[23]

While the English and the Dutch companies could depend on and claim the annual deliveries, for which they had entered into agreements and contract with Travancore, the Danes had to wait patiently for the opportune moment for the trade. To a very large extent it was the co-operation of the Travancore sovereigns which benefitted the Danes occasionally. The absence of military power incapacitated them to vie with the English and the Dutch; the impossibility of entering into contract with Travancore strangled their trade prospects. The Danes meticulously looked for the apt

20. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 67. "I have certain intelligence, that in Ruttera (Kovalam) they are shipping off pepper in a munchua for the Danish sloop here; there is some pepper which came upon ten oxen before I arrived, but as yet they have not weighed it off to the Danish Company; yesterday afternoon they shipped off 30 bundles of coir on account of Midin Pulla Meter for some bundles of incense he brought in this sloop. (Letter of Faria to Peter Wrench).

22. Ole Feldback, *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. In connection with the attack by the Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali, on Travancore in 1773, the Company succeeded in getting a very large order for guns, musket, and ammunition, on condition that the transaction was kept secret from the English East India Company.

23. Ole Feldback, *Op. cit.*, p. 19. The deliveries to Haidar Ali were made through the Company's station at Calicut on the Malabar coast, and the corresponding deliveries to the King of Travancore through the Danish station on the same coast, at Colachel.

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moment and even a hint from the factor at Colachel that the King had shown an interest in getting some horses from Achen indicated a method of circumventing the English and Dutch interests.[24]

A letter of the Chief of Anjengo written on 17th March 1773 to the king indicated that a Danish ship was off Kōṭṭār with several goods to be exchanged for pepper. The chief made it clear that it was "highly disagreeable to hear such news whilst the Honourable English Company continue in your kingdom".[25] The Chief's protest was rejected on[26] the ground that this was surplus pepper, that had been reserved for the sale of Travancore, whose transaction was known to all his predecessors. On 21st March 1773 the chief reported to his superiors at Bombay that the Danes had landed from their vessel a considerable quantity of copper and three chest of fire arms in order to have a conference with the king's minister.[27] This was followed by a large supply of war materials in exchange for pepper.[28]

On 9th December 1780, James Morley took charge of the chiefship of Anjengo. The urgent problem which caught his serious attention was the Danish presence at Vizhinjam. On 28th December the linguist of the place reported[29] that he had notice of guns, muskets, iron and lead having been landed from a Danish ship at Colachel to be delivered to the king, who had agreed to

24. Ole Feldback, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

25. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1773, Vol. XII, p. 74.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76. '*The passport pepper*'. It is customary to give the merchants past thereof being left for those who bring tobacco and as small quantity of pepper that remained of this left yearly; so that if any goods come in the foreign ships at favourable price they used to buy such pepper for different prices which intelligence all his predecessors of Anjengo have been well acquainted with ...

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 79. The goods the king took from the Danish sloop were ten pieces of cannon of pounders six pounders, and four pounders, Musquets 600, flints 15,000, iron 2,000 bars, lead 50 slabs; copper quantity unknown. There is intelligence that the king will deliver 250 candies of pepper; the pepper which came in the *munchua* they have landed and are weighing and shipping about 100 candies and there is pepper coming in a *munchua* which is to be shipped off at Ruttera. (This transaction has been confirmed by Feldback, see *India under the Danish Flag*, p. 20).

29. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1780, Vol. XIV, p. 148.

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provide them with a quantity of pepper. John Hutchinson, the successor of Morley was more vociferous than most of the former Chiefs in objecting to the Danish trade.[30] But this did not make any basic change in their trade; it continued in its stereotyped form without any serious physical obstruction.

Like the Danes, Travancore also never worried over the question of permanent cordiality. As the Danish Company's friendship for Travancore was chiefly motivated by its own country's trade interests for which they took shifty and contradictory measures—as in the case of arms sales to the Nawab—Travancore also adopted a flexible policy which served its interests. The menace from Tipoo of Mysore[31] made Travancore more dependent on the English than any other foreign power, and hence there was a sudden stoppage of pepper delivery to the Danes. It would have been a callous blunder if *he* had continued *his* collusion with the Danes in those circumstances. Still the English were sceptical of Travancore, for, as a tactical move the Danes had raised the price of pepper by way of an inducement to the King.[32]

The English suspected, with some justification, that the Danes were active at the new port of Alleppey where one Casper Tope was in charge of the whole transaction. To enquire into the matter Hutchinson sent John Dyne, the Second at Anjengo, who was haughty and undiplomatic, a man least suited to handle delicate matters in which patience and perseverance were necessary. He complained of the Danes to Kesava Das, the minister of Travancore, who in turn rejected[33] the allegation of any pepper having been supplied to the Danes. Still, Dyne reported the matter to the Chief who lost no time in protesting to the minister. Incensed at this charge the minister sought an explanation from Dyne and

30. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1791, Vol. XIX, p. 10. The Danes have *likewise demand* on you for pepper, but I do now in the name of the Company protest against your furnishing them with a single candy previous to your having discharged your celebrations (sic) (Chief's letter to the King).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The Raja is under engagements to deliver the Danes 800 candies in all February. This was to have been furnished them last season, but he broke word with them, under pretension of Tippo's irruption.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1795, Vol. XX, p. 43.

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the latter's reply was an affront[34] and irresponsibility quite unsuited to the esteemed position he held in the Company.

In spite of allegations and accusations Tope continued to be at Alleppey and this again evoked protest from the English. Occasionally there was report of pepper having been delivered to him. Unmindful of criticism and controversies that centred on his presence Tope persisted and was determined to safeguard his Company's interests. Meanwhile, John Dyne was withdrawn and John Snow was deputed in his place; but the latter also reported[35] of Tope's good fortune by the co-operation of Travancore.

"This modest Danish trade in pepper and munitions", says Feldback "continued throughout the 1770's and presumably often took place with the knowledge and assistance of the servants of the English Company".[36] A close perusal of the attitude of the English from the very beginning will reveal that all their protests and obstructions against the Danes were nominal and not motivated by the Company's best interest.

In this connection, it would be relevant to examine the attitude of the English towards the French who were also interested in establishing commercial contacts with Travancore. The very presence of a French ship in any of the trade centres of the coast was objected to by the English and they sent strongly-worded letters to the king demanding their expulsion. They were opposed to any agreement between the French and Travancore. Besides they even threatened the natives who were prepared to provide the French with food and water. On 13 March 1745 they seem to have sent a small detachment[37] to Kovalam, where a French ship was cruising and threatened the people of the locality with dire consequences, in case of friendship with the crew. In 1741 there was much

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73. My having given information to Hutchinson respecting pepper delivered to Mr. Tope was from report made me here (Allepey) and should I be obliged to prove it hereafter; it can only be to those who have a right to demand it. (Letter of Dyne to Kesava Das, dated 22-4-1795).

35. *Anjengo Consultations*, MS. 1797, Vol. XXI, p. 177.

36. Ole Feldback, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

37. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 5

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talk about a possible collusion between the French and Travancore. Whitehill, the then Chief of Anjengo assured[38] his counterpart at Tellicherry that he would see that any such understanding did not materialise to the disadvantage of the English. The English were excessively alert even on a remote chance of any understanding between them.

In the case of the Danes the English never bothered too much; whenever they got intelligence on the Danish presence and trade connections with the king, they would record a protest, and seldom moved beyond it. The French had a considerable military backing, but the Danes were perfectly devoid of it. Hence it was easier for the English to contain the Danes, if they genuinely wanted it. The English were it must be said, insincere[39] in recording their opposition; they did it just to satisfy their superiors. Feldback alleges: "The Counsil at Tranquebar had private, friendly relations with the English Resident at Tellicherry, Rawson Hard Boddam, later Governor of Bombay who was interested in remitting his fortune to Europe by means of Danish Company's bills of exchange".[40] With such men at the helm of affairs it was impossible for the English Company to keep out the Danes from the commercial circle of Travancore. Except for one or two occasions, when they took some steps to prevent the delivery of pepper the English connived at the Danish trade.

The King of Travancore was the Danish Company's biggest customer, and the ships that brought munitions to Colachel also regularly carried bribes.[41] Except for their muskets, which proved to be of inferior quality at later times the king had no complaints about the Danish supply of different articles. In 1795 Tone gained a spectacular gain which was a record in the trade annals of the

38. *Letters to Tellicherry*, Vol. VI. p. 9.

39. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. XII, p. 75. As your Majesty is sovereign of your kingdom, no doubt, you can do as you please but as I am a dependent it is my duty to regard the Company's right and request your favourable answer that I may be able to make a satisfactory representation to them. (Letter of Wrench to the King dated 13-7-1773).

40. Feldback *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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Danes. "By making a loan to the King of Travancore he succeeded in getting a contract for the delivery of 1500 candies of 500 Dutch pounds each, and in getting permission to have cloths woven for the company at Colachel".[42] However, it is not known whether this contract was ever executed. The Treaty of 1795 between Travancore and the English was an obstacle in the path of fulfilling the contract. The sixth article of the treaty[43] made it clear that no European could remain in the country without the prior consent and knowledge of the English. It was this treaty which made irreparable damages to the Danish trade.

Though of a limited extent, in comparison with the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English trade, the Danish trade in Travancore is conspicuous for its peculiar features. While all other foreigners indulged in political interference and territorial acquisitions, the Danes kept aloof from all and concentrated their attention on commercial activities alone. Never did they think it expedient or necessary to side with one native power against another, and make capital out of it—a practice successfully followed by all others. They never poked their nose in intrigues so as to spread dissatisfaction and disaffection among the local people. Never did they pose or claim that they were the best friends and benefactors of Travancore. There was neither flamboyance of posture nor excess of cordiality. Likewise, the Danes could never be accused of religious bigotry and propaganda; they never bothered for religion. The Danes were traders, pure and simple.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

43. C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. X, (Calcutta, 1909), p. 131.

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Martanda Varma's Relations with the French

BY

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The erstwhile Princely State of Travancore now lies merged partly in Kerala and partly in Tamil Nadu, the two Southern States of India. Travancore occupied a pre-eminent position among the native States of India under British protection. Situated on the Malabar coast, it was one of the earliest States in India to attract the notice of foreigners. The long coast-line interspersed with back-waters and fine harbours provided excellent opportunities for maritime trade. In the wake of the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, European traders came here in quest of pepper and piece-goods. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English tried in turn to establish their supremacy in this region and monopolise its trade. The French entered the field rather late and made little progress in Travancore largely due to the jealousies of the Dutch and the English.

The reign of Martāṇḍa Varma (1729–1758) constitutes a formative epoch in the history of Travancore. At the time of his accession Travancore was a small principality south of Quilon struggling for its very existence. The position of the king was far from secure. Even his succession was disputed by powerful rivals. Notwithstanding the matrilineal law of succession in Travancore, the two sons of the late king claimed the throne and sought to destroy the legitimate claimant. The growing power of the feudal nobles, and the pretensions of a heirarchy of Brahmin priests rendered royal authroity weak and ineffective. The presence of foreign merchants, their mutual jealousies and their frequent interference in local affairs constituted another disturbing factor. The aggressive policy of the Dutch was a real threat to the security of the State. Undaunted by these difficulties, Mārtāṇḍa Varma set out to destroy his enemies and consolidate his position. Within a short period, he suppressed all the anti-royal forces and made his position strong and secure. A warlike prince he adopted a

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policy of territorial aggrandisement and extended the frontiers of his Kingdom to the borders of Cochin. Soldier, statesman and diplomat, he richly deserves to be called the architect of the Travancore State.

The reign of Mārtāṇḍa Varma coincides with the Anglo-French rivalry of the 18th century in South India. The English had a fort and two factories in Travancore.[1] The French who had no settlement in this region tried to have one, preferably at Colachel, a small sea-coast town, 19 miles north-west of Cape Comorin. The intrigues of the French agents in the court of Mārtāṇḍa Varma, the attempts made by the English to frustrate the French designs and the machiavellian tactics adopted by the King of Travancore to outmanoeuvre both constitute an interesting aspect of the Anglo-French rivalry in Malabar. The relations of Mārtāṇḍa Varma with the Dutch and the English have been dealt with in books on Kerala history. But very little is known about his dealings with the French during this crucial period. An attempt is made in this study to trace the relations between Travancore and the French in the reign of Mārtāṇḍa Varma. This article is based on materials gathered from the Records of Fort St: George, Madras and the Private Diary of Anand Ranga Pillai.[2]

In his wars against the neighbouring chieftains Mārtāṇḍa Varma sought the assistance of the English factors at Anjengo. But help from this source was limited to the supply of arms and ammunition depending on their availability. When the Anjengo factors failed to satisfy his demands, the King approached the French at Pondicherry and Mahe for military stores. He was then at war with the Dutch who had provoked him by rendering assistance to his enemies. The English factors at Anjengo were alarmed by the state of war in the country. A letter dated 31st Oct, 1739, sent by them to Tellicherry shows their anxiety in the matter. It was a request for an immediate supply of arms and

1. The Fort was at Anjengo and the Factories at Eḍava and Viḷiñṉam.

2. Ananda Ranga Pillai was Dubash to Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry and his Diary edited by Price and Dodwell in 12 volumes (Madras, 1904-1928) is a valuable source book for the history of the period, 1736-1761.

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ammunition to strengthen the defences of their settlement.[3] The Dutch were preparing for a final show-down with the king of Travancore. Their intention was to land an army at Colachel and embark on a conquest of the Raja's territories. At this critical situation Mārtāṇḍa Varma sought the help of the French. In March 1741, the king's envoy reached Pondicherry with a letter and gifts for the French Governor.[4] The king promised the French grants of land at Colachel and other places for constructing factories.[5]

The negotiations between Mārtāṇḍa Varma and the French were viewed with great suspicion by the Anjengo factors. They knew that the king would sell pepper to his new ally in return for military stores. They wrote to Tellicherry that pepper would be diverted to the South for delivery to the French.[6] They tried to impress upon their superiors that if Mārtāṇḍa Varma were to receive help from any other European nation, it would prove fatal to the interests of the English East India Company in Travancore.[7]

Notwithstanding the protests of the English merchants, negotiations continued between Mārtāṇḍa Varma and the French. The king was very friendly to the French at this time and passed on to them any information that might be useful to them. The captain of a French ship was advised to avoid the port of Colachel as a few English ships were reported to be coming in that direction.[8] The designs of the French caused grant consternation at Anjengo. The English learnt that the French were interested in Colachel and they would get the king's permission for constructing a fort there. In their letter, dated 8th August, 1741, the Anjengo factors wrote to their superiors in England that the French were intending to send a large force to the Malabar coast ostensibly for Mahe but their real destination was Colachel.[9]

3. *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XI, p. 46.
4. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 155.
5. V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. (Trivandrum 1906), pp. 342-343.
6. *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XII, pp. 58-59.
7. Letter from Anjengo to Fort St. George dated 6 Aug. 1740. See *Letters to Fort St. George* (1740), p. 7.
8. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 383.
9. *Public Despatches to England* (1741-42), p. 15.

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The Dutch became uneasy over the growing power of Mārtāṇḍa Varma whose ascendancy posed a serious threat to their supremacy in Malabar. Adrian Maten, the Dutch Governor of Cochin asked Mārtāṇḍa Varma to stop further aggression. But the latter paid no heed to the request and advised the Dutch not to interfere in the politics of Malabar.[10] The arrival of the Dutch Governor of Ceylon changed the situation. He met Mārtāṇḍa Varma and tried to reach an amicable settlement. The talks failed and the Dutch declared war on Travancore. A large Dutch force from Ceylon landed at Colachel and seized the adjoining territories. Mārtāṇḍa Varma who was then in the northern region, hastened to the South to meet the Dutch who, having consolidated their position between Colachel and Cape Comorin, were advancing on Padmanābhapuram, an important city in South Travancore. The situation was really desperate. "In this state of despair Mārtāṇḍa Varma turned to the new power which had arisen in the Carnatic—the French at Pondicherry under Dupleix. Negotiations for an alliance were entered into with the French who were only too glad to get this opportunity to interfere decisively in the affairs of Malabar".[11]

Without waiting for the arrival of French help, Mārtāṇḍa Varma took steps to meet the enemy. He raised an army and met the Dutch at the battle of Colachel on 10th Aug. 1741, inflicted a crushing defeat on them and put them to flight. The Travancore forces occupied the fort and took possession of the arms and ammunition left by the fleeing Dutch. The battle of Colachel shattered the Dutch dream of establishing their supremacy in Malabar. After this disastrous defeat the Dutch had to reconcile themselves to the position of mere traders. "So far as Travancore was concerned the battle of Colachel may be said to be the most decisive factor in its development".[12] With the fall of his most formidable enemy, it became easy for the king of Travancore to complete his northern conquests. It also enhanced his prestige and he came to be regarded as the most powerful king in Malabar.

10. K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch* (Bombay 1931), p. 66.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

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The battle of Colachel also brought about an immediate change in the king's attitude towards the French. It must be noted that he destroyed the Dutch power without the assistance of the French. Now that the war was won, he no longer needed any help from them. There was a time when he urgently needed that help. When his kingdom was exposed to Dutch aggression, he sent an embassy to Pondicherry seeking help from the French. A treaty was concluded by which the French promised to help the Raja against the Dutch and his other enemies and the king offered to give them land for building factories and allow them to carry on trade with Travancore.[13] "Before the ratification of the treaty, the battle of Colachel was fought and won and the assistance of the French not being needed, the stipulations of the treaty were not carried into effect".[14]

The withdrawal of the Dutch from Colachel encouraged the French in their designs to gain a footing in Travancore. Colachel was their choice and they wanted to set up a factory there. The other European merchants were also trading in Colachel. The Danes had a factory there.[15] The English also claimed certain rights there based on a treaty signed in 1723 with the King of Travancore.[16] The English, hitherto, did not press their claims at Colachel partly due to their preoccupations elsewhere and partly due to their reluctance to get into trouble with the Dutch and the Danes who were already trading there. But when the French asked for a settlement there, the Anjengo factors invoked the provisions of the Treaty of 1723 and informed the king that any concession granted to the French would be a violation of that treaty.

The English at Anjengo were in constant dread of a French expedition to the Travancore coast under the guise of rendering assistance to the king. They expressed their fear in their letter to Fort St. George, dated 2nd September, 1742. It was stated in

13. P. Shangoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore*, (Madras 1878), p. 134.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
15. William Hamilton. *The East India Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 436.
16. For the provisions of the treaty see, W. Logan, Malabar, (Madras, 1951), Vol. III, p. 9.

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that letter that the French were making great preparations for coming this way which, if true, may prove of the worst consequences to our Honourable Masters' affairs here".[17] The threat of a French invasion held the Anjengo factors in a state of tension. They knew that Dupleix would exploit the king's request for help and continue his efforts to destroy the influence of the English in Travancore and secure concessions for the French. They grew panicky over the French designs and kept constant vigil over the activities of their enemy in the Travancore State. Whenever the king showed some consideration to the French the Anjengo factors lodged their protest. In a letter to the king, dated 22nd Jan., 1746, the English accused him of harbouring the French and supplying them with necessaries at a time when they were at war with the English.[18] The king was warned that if English ships arrived on the Malabar coast, they would attack the French and would not show the least regard to any prince in India, offering protection to their enemy. In his reply the king denied that he had any contacts with the French, and added that if the French came the English could protect themselves.[19] When the King's messenger came to Anjengo with a request for arms the Chief pointed out that the King's Ministers were in correspondence with the French and had several meetings with them at Colachel.[20] Such things, he told them, would be considered quite unfriendly by the English. In spite of the protests of the Anjengo factors, the French persisted in their efforts to get themselves established at Colachel. The English at Tellicherry wrote to Anjengo transmitting information received by them regarding the intentions of the French to have a settlement at Colachel.[21] The English fully believed that the king was still negotiating with the French, notwithstanding his professions to the contrary and took all precautions to safeguard their interests.

In these difficult days the English acted with great prudence. They tried their utmost to meet the king's demands. If they had

17. *Letters to Fort St. George* (1742), p. 85.
18. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 112.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
21. *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XVII-A, p. 17

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no stock, they contacted Tellichery and Fort St. George to procure for him arms and ammunition. They knew that it was not advisable to antagonise a powerful King like Martanda Varma especially at a time when negotiations were in progress between him and the French. Inspite of their best efforts, they found it impossible to meet all his demands. Whenever they failed him, the king accused them of insincerity in their relations with him. He would complain on such occasions that they were not taking genuine interest in meeting his needs. In a letter he wrote in Aug. 1746 the king referred to those occasions in the past when they helped each other and complained that of late there was considerable lack of enthusiasm and sincerity on the part of the English in their dealings with him. Though the letter was written in a reminiscent mood, there was an implied threat when he observed. "If you are inclined to forget all that is passed I will do the same".[22]

With the outbreak of the first Anglo-French war (1746-1748) in South India, the French intensified their activities in Travancore. Their aim was to destroy the English influence in the state and establish their supremacy. The English settlements on the Malabar coast were exposed to the threat of an imminent French invasion. The king of Travancore was favourably disposed towards the French. He kept them in good humour, as it was not advisable to antagonise them especially in times of war. The king's solicitude for the French made the English uneasy. In a letter dated 18 Aug. 1746 the Anjengo factors wrote to their superiors at Tellicherry that the French were determined to have a settlement at Colachel and the king of Travancore was only too ready to receive them.[23] When the Anjengo factors made anxious enquiries, the king denied that he had any correspondence with the French and assured the English that he would neither assist the French nor allow them to attack the English settlements in Travancore.[24] He, however, pointed out that since the French were a

22. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 151.
23. *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XVIII-A, p. 55.
24. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 159.

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maritime power he could not prevent them from attacking the English by sea.[25]

A shrewd observer, Mārtāṇḍa Varma knew that between the English and the French he should definitely prefer the former and stand by them in times of danger. Experience had also taught him that as allies the English were more dependable. During the Anglo-French war, the Raja assured the Anjengo factors that he would render all assistance to them in case they were attacked by the French. But it was a well-known fact that the French agents were active in his court. It is interesting to note that it was from the Prime Minister of Travancore that the Anjengo factors received a news of the capture of Fort St. George by the French.[26] The Minister must have received the news from the French agents in the Raja's court.

After the fall of Madras, the position of the English settlements on the Malabar coast became untenable. A French invasion of the Malabar coast seemed imminent. At Anjengo the English factors were anxious for the safety of their women and children in the event of an attack. They directed their linguist to meet the king and ask him whether he would give them a house at Ārriṅgal to accommodate their women and children.[27] The linguist got an assurance from the king that he would stand by the English in case of a French attack.[28] The king also promised that he would come in person to their help if their settlement was attacked by the French. In the matter of granting asylum to their women and children, the king offered to place one of his palaces at Cirayinkīḻ[29] at their disposal.[30] The clever monarch used this opportunity to press for a loan of ten thousand fanams[31] and some unserviceable guns to be cast into shots. At a consultation held on 3 November 1746 it was resolvd to concede

25. *Ibid.*
26. *Tellicherry Consultations, Vol.* XVII-A, p. 90.
27. *Anjengo Consultations,* Vol. I, p. 166.
28. *Ibid.,* pp. 166-167.
29. A place in the interior, a few miles south-east of Anjengo.
30. *Anjengo Consultations,* Vol. I, p. 167.
31. *'Faṇam'* is an old silver coin current in Travancore, one-seventh of a Rupee in value.

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the demands of the king.[32] The decision of the Board was prompted by the feeling that it would be unwise to antagonise the king at such a critical juncture. The Angengo factors were convinced that the king's help was indispensable for the preservation of their settlement and his disfavour might even result in its loss. Within a few days the king himself came to Anjengo and reiterated his promise of help conveyed earlier through agents.[33]

The capture of Madras by the French and their victory over the Nawab of Arcot greatly enhanced their prestige in the courts of the Malabar princes. Mārtāṇḍa Varma's letters to Pondicherry reflect the spirit of the times. In one of his letters to Dupleix the king of Travancore made enquiries about the progress of the war. The letter was couched in friendly terms evincing a keen interest in the affairs of the French. Anxious enquiries were made about the movements of the French ships and their reported clash with the English off Nagapatanam.[34] Reference was also made to the arrival of two French ships on the Travancore coast, extension of facilities to the crew under the king's orders and the presence of the Dubash of Mahe on the occasion. The letter ended with the request that the king should be informed in writing whether the French fleet would reach his dominions in October.[35] In spite of his polite enquiries, Mārtāṇḍa Varma viewed with disfavour the prospects of a French attack on the English settlements in his country. He was very tactful in his dealings with the English also as he knew that arms and ammunition supplied from Anjengo were indispensable for the realisation of his military ambitions.

The intention of French was to launch an attack on the English settlements at Tellicherry and Anjengo from their base at Mahe.[36] A French fleet was actually diverted to Mahe for the

32. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 167.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

34. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. II, p. 358.

35. *Ibid.*

36. The French settlement of Mahe was about ten kilometres south-east of Tellicherry. The two settlements were so closely situated that proximity was really a disturbing factor in those anxious days.

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purpose.[37] When an attack on Anjengo seemed imminent, the king showed more consideration for his English friends and even exchanged confidences with them. He forwarded to Anjengo a letter he had received from Monsieur Dellev, Chief of Mahe, dated 28th January 1747.[38] It was stated in the letter that a few French ships would soon be on the Travancore coast and the Raja was asked to provide refreshments and other necessary facilities for the crew. The Chief of Mahe hoped that the king would comply with his request and assured him that such compliance would be considered proof of good relations between the two. In his forwarding letter Mārtāṇḍa Varma declared that he had no idea of the French designs and sought the advice of the Anjengo merchants as to what he should do in the matter. The kings letter was placed before the Board and it was decided to refer the matter to the Tellicherry factors with the suggestion that they should send their ships down the Malabar coast as far as Cape Comorin to meet the enemy ships which may be cruising off the Cape.[39]

Within a few days the king himself visited Anjengo and held a long conference with the Chief.[40] He reiterated his attachment to the interests of the English East India Company and informed the Chief that he had asked the French not to molest the English. He assured the English that if the French acted contrary to his wishes he would resist them with all the force that he could muster. As usual he made another request for arms and ammunition. This time he asked the English to give him one of their big guns and also a few barrels of gun powder. He told them that he needed these things urgently as he was then involved in a war against a northern Chieftain. The Chief pointed out the unreasonableness of the king's request at a time when they themselves were exposed to danger. However his request was placed before the Board. Since it would be fatal to their interests to displease the king, they agreed to lend him one of

37. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. II, p. 402.
38. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. I, p. 192.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

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their guns and give him five barrels of gun powder. The king wanted ten barrels; but the Chief convinced him of their own urgent requirements and regretted his inability to spare more.[41]

In spite of his repeated assurances, the English doubted the king's bonafides as he was still carrying on negotiations with the French. The presence of the king's messenger at Mahe to seek French help for the capture of Quilon confirmed their suspicion.[42] Taking advantage of the king's overtures the French renewed their efforts to obtain a settlement at Colachel. In these days Mārtāṇḍa Varma was hard pressed by his enemies especially the ruler of Quilon who was liberally assisted by the Dutch. After their discomfiture at Colachel the Dutch adopted the tactics of supporting the king's enemies. Encouraged by their help the local chieftains defied his authority and even the conquered principalities rose in revolt and asserted their independence. As a maritime power the Dutch were still capable of creating problems for Travancore. They never forgot the humiliation they suffered at Colachel and stirred up local Chieftains against Travancore.

It was in this context that Mārtāṇḍa Varma sent his messenger to Mahe to seek French help against the Dutch. He also sought the help of the English. One of the king's ministers visited Anjengo on 24th Oct., 1747 to explore the possibilities of getting help from that source. Since the Dutch were their allies the English expressed their inability to help the king and advised him not to get into trouble with them.[43] A few days later, the Prime Minister of Travancore made another attempt to get help against the Dutch.[44] He too received the same answer from the Chief. The minister's attention was drawn to the presence of the French at Colachel and a strong protest was made. The Chief said that it was really unfortunate that the king, whom the English always considered as their ally, should give the French a favourable reception knowing fully well that they were the enemies of the English East India Company.[45]

41. *Ibid.*
42. *Tellicherry Consultations*, Vol. XVI-A, p. 210.
43. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. II-A, pp. 18, 19.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
45. *Ibid.*

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Meanwhile the French had ordered a squadron of five ships to move to the Malabar coast with instructions to seize the English ships cruising the area and also to capture the English settlements.[46] The captains of the ships were directed to take on board six thousand Angrias[47] who had offered their services.[48] The king of Travancore was asked to procure the assistance of the Angrias.[49] The French recognised Mārtāṇḍa Varma as the most powerful king in Malabar and regarded him as a useful ally. They also held him in great respect as is evidenced from their mode of address. In one of his letters written from Pondicherry on behalf of the French Governor, the Diarist used high sounding epithets; he addressed the king of Travancore as the "The possessor of Happiness, Lord of many lands, the Sun among Princes, the Lion among kings, the Treasure-house of light, Maharaja Sri Udaya Marthanda Raja".[50]

The entries in the Diary for the year 1748, show that Mārtāṇḍa Varma professed great friendship for the French. When he heard of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748, by the English under Boscawen, he wrote to Duplex as follows: "We were greatly troubled when we heard that the English had attacked you with their army. If we had ships, we would have helped you with all our heart and sent a large army. Even now we are ready to send what men we can. God will bless you with the glory of driving the English army away".[51] Dupleix was much impressed by the sentiments expressed in the Raja's letter and asked Ananda Ranga Pillai to send a suitable reply. In his letter of thanks, the Diarist informed the king that "the English lost heavily and ran away being unable to endure any more".[52]

In his dealings with the French, Mārtāṇḍa Varma expected substantial military help from them. But the response from the

46. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. III, p. 297.
47. The Angrias were the followers of the notorious piratical Chieftain Toolaji Angria who was a constant source of trouble and danger to trade and shipping on the west coast.
48. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. III, p. 297.
49. *Ibid*, p. 298.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 54.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 23.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

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French was poor and their attitude was cautious and non-committal. Their pre-occupation in the Carnatic, want of sufficient encouragement from Travancore on the question of settling the French at Colachel and the reluctance of Dupleix to help the king against the Dutch were the major considerations that dictated French policy in Travancore. When help was not forthcoming according to his expectations, Mārtāṇḍa Varma accused the French of insincerity as he did in the case of the Anjengo factors under similar circumstances. The king himself told the English Chief at Anjengo that the French were unreliable, they flattered him with many assurances of help but seldom kept their promise.[53] The English advised him not to place any reliance on their word as it was the character of that nation to promise anything for their advantage but never to fulfil those promises.[54] This change in the King's attitude was exploited by the English to their advantage. They seldom missed an opportunity to discredit the French in the eyes of the Malabar princes.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle signed in Europe in 1748, brought to an end the first round of Anglo-French conflict in India. The termination of hostilities, however, did not deter the French in their efforts to secure a footing in Travancore. They still entertained hopes of establishing themselves at Colachel. Their presence in the court continued to agitate the minds of the Anjengo factors. A few French ships arrived at Colachel and when the English made enquiries about this, the Raja said that they must have come to collect the money he owed them for the arms he had purchased from them.[55] In December 1749, he however conceded that he had an interview with the French merchants who told him that they came to seek his permission to buy pepper and some cloth.[56] The English were not satisfied with this explanation. They knew that the purpose of the French mission was to seek permission for constructing a Fort at Colachel. It soon became known that the French had actually marked out the ground with large stones. When the Anjengo Chief met the King

53. *Anjengo Consultations,* Vol. II-A, p. 37.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. II-B, p. 25.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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in January, 1750, he made enquiries about the French designs at Colachel. The King admitted that the French wanted permission to build a fort at Colachel which he refused unless they entered into a defensive alliance with him against the Dutch. Since the French were not agreeable, the King said he would not give them permission. His offer was conditional and since the condition was not fulfilled, the king was under no obligation to keep his promise.[57]

The English on their part left no stone unturned in their efforts to frustrate the French designs. In all their communications to the King they conveyed their strong feelings in the matter and tried to get an assurance from him that he would give no quarter to the French. The French had instructions from their Home Government that they should persist in their efforts. The English at Anjengo received a private letter from Bourchier[58] mailed from Cochin that the French would create trouble if they were not allowed to settle at Colachel since they had received orders from France to that effect.[59] This information was passed on to the King with a warning that if the French should succeed in their efforts it would be harmful to both the King and the English Company.[60] The King replied that he was quite aware of the the danger and expressed the hope that he would frustrate the French designs with the help of the English.[61] There was, however, a Pro-French party in the court and they wanted to bring the French to Travancore and settle them at Colachel.[62]

When the English refused to help him against the Dutch, Mārtāṇḍa Varma was constrained to approach the French for assistance. In October 1750, he addressed the Governor of Pondicherry on the subject.[63] Having read the Raja's letter, Dupleix summoned the messengers who had brought the letter and asked them how many forts the Dutch had in their country. The

57. *Ibid.*
58. Bourchier was the outgoing Chief of the Anjengo Factory who laid down his office on 1st Feb., 1750.
59. *Anjengo Consultations*, Vol. II-B, pp. 38-39.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
63. *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. VII, pp. 409-410.

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Governor spread before him a map of the country and asked them further questions on the subject. They said that the Dutch had one fort and four factories and the English had one fort and two factories .... Dupleix then explained his stand in the matter and told the messengers that he would help their King if the Dutch stirred up enemies against him but he could not declare war on them because in Europe his country was at peace with the Dutch.[64] Mārtānda Varma was disappointed with the outcome of this conference and after this incident he began to lose his faith in the French. In the last years of his life he came to rely more and more on the English and with unerring instinct he predicted that this nation would finally emerge as the victorious power and establish its supremacy in India. His last advice to the heir-apparent was as follows. "Above all, the friendship existing between the English East India Company and Travancore should be maintained at any risk and that full confidence should always be placed in the support and aid of that honourable association".[65] Within a decade of his death the English established their supremacy in India and the French ceased to be a power of any consequence in this subcontinent.

The relations of Mārtānda Varma with the French should be viewed against the background of the eighteenth century Malabar and in the context of the peculiar situation in which he was placed. In addition to the innumerable domestic problems that confronted him at every stage of his tumultous career, he had to deal with those foreign merchants fighting against one another in their bid to capture the Malabar trade. So far as Travancore was concerned, the Dutch were the most aggressive among the foreigners. The English to whom interests of trade were paramount, kept aloof from political entanglements in Malabar. But soon they had to change their policy in view of the growing competition from the Dutch and the French.

In Mārtānda Varma's dealings with European merchants, pepper played an important part. Malabar was famous for its

64. *Ibid.*
65. P. Shangoonny Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

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pepper trade and the Raja of Travancore had with him large quantities of that precious commodity. The king who was fully conscious of the value of pepper used it as a trump card in striking favourable bargains with foreigners. What he wanted in exchange was a steady supply of arms and ammunition and he knew that the foreigners could afford to meet his demands. To maintain his position Mārtāṇḍa Varma had to guard himself against powerful enemies. He had to fight with the Dutch and a host of local chieftains. Sometimes he had to deal with powerful combinations. Hence he played upon the mutual jealousies of the French and the English and procured a maximum supply of military stores from the latter. He was aware of the apprehensions of the Anjengo factors and used his contacts with the French as a convenient lever to tilt the balance in his favour. In short this astute prince used every contact to strengthen his position and every opportunity to consolidate his power.

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Reviews

KRISHNAMANDALA—A DEVOTIONAL THEME IN INDIAN ART, By Walter M. Spink. Published by Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 1971.

This volume is much more than a catalogue of an exhibition pertaining to the Krishna theme, held at the University of Michigan Museum of Art in August and September, 1970. It deals with the Krishna legend and also the *bhakti* movement of which the God Krishna was the fountain head. The author, Dr. Spink, is obviously deeply immersed in his subject not only as an art historian but as one who has imbibed something, even in the world of today, of the beauty, joy and devotional urge which millions of Krishna devotees experienced particularly from the 16th century onwards. Says Chaitanya,

Q. *What is the best of things to be heard by creatures?*

A. *The Radha–Krishna love sports are a delight to the ear.*

Dr. Spink proceeds to tell the whole story of Krishna from his birth and not only of his delightful amours. The narrative, and the philosophical contents behind it which the author always keeps in sight adds to the enjoyment of the text which covers a wide field including the miniatures of various schools which illustrate the Krishna theme. The numerous illustrations have been chosen principally to illustrate the Krishna story and not for their interest to scholars of Indian painting. Consequently they include both early and late material and also a few sculptures and textiles. But the majority of illustrations consist of paintings and some fine examples of important periods are reproduced along with later work which has not the same attraction for a critic of Indian miniatures. The twelve colour plates and over a hundred monochrome illustrations add to the value of the text. Two miniatures from the recently discovered Isarda *Bhagavata* are reproduced for the first time but the provenance given as Mewar should be altered

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in favour of the area Delhi-Agar. The fact that this *Bhagavata* came from the Isarda collection in Rajasthan is no indication of its area of production. The Kerala bronze (Fig. 43) belongs to the 16th—17th century and not the 13th century. A few errors in dating are also present but on the whole there is no cause for disagreement with the dates attributed to the majority of items reproduced.

The underlying idea of the Krishna story being a mandala is successfully elucidated.

"Now I want to see no other world. My place is with the Lord".

KARL J. KHANDALAVALA

LAND REVENUE IN INDIA, Edited by Dr. R. S. Sharma; Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi; 1971; pp. 129; price Rs. 15/-.

The work consists of the following papers read at a Seminar organized by the Department of History, University of Patna in 1965: D. N. Jha: *Land Revenue in the Maurya and Gupta Periods;* B. P. Mazumdar: *Land Revenue in Early Medieval North India* (c.A.D. 600–1200); Q. Ahmad: *Aspects of Land Revenue Administration in Mughal Period;* V. A. Narain: *Experiments in Land Revenue Administration in Bengal* (1765–1793); J. C. Jah: *History of Land Revenue in Chotanagpur* (c. A.D. 1770–1830); Suresh Singh: *The Munda Land System and Revenue Reforms in Chotanagpur During* 1869–1908.

The main attraction of this slim but elegant volume is more in its planning than in its contents, though we hasten to add that the articles have been very well written. But the merit of the work is that it brings to surface the fact that the revenue system of India cannot be studied in isolated periods, and it will be the duty of the historians not only to describe the revenue system of a particular period but also to trace its origin and development, in order to render the study of history meaningful and not merely academic.

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A comparison of the first two articles which deal with 'ancient period' with the later ones reveal the sharp difference between them. A discussion of the revenue system of 'Ancient India' even today involves practically nothing beyond the discussion of the probable meanings of terms found in various epigraphs, (most of which were freehold deeds granted in favour of a religious establishment) for the very good reason that few other data are available particularly for north India. Therefore, attempts may now be made to see if better results are available by working backwards.

Early British land settlement reports give detailed information regarding revenue system of pre-British India. The *Aīn* records in outline the system in vogue prior to Akbar's accession. If the revenue system under the early Sultāns is studied, possibly we may get a fair picture of the land revenue system under the Hindu dynasties. For example Mr. Q. Ahmad writes of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants: "All such *Farmāns* and *Sanads* had a standardized phraseology, which came to be adopted right from the early years of Akbar's reign. Under these grants the revenue of a specified area was assigned to the grantee, who was exempted from the payment of the large number of *abwabs*, or customary dues, which were enumerated" (p. 46). The use of 'standardized phraseology' and exemption from customary dues were also the outstanding characteristics of the ancient Indian land grants, and the two may be profitably compared. The *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were issued by the Sultāns from very early days and those must also be taken into account.

What idea could one get of the Mughal revenue system if one had to depend only on several hundred *madad-i-ma'āsh* deeds? Yet, this is the type of document on which discussions of 'Hindu revenue system' are based, and sometimes historians arrive at far-reaching conclusions on negative evidence alone.

The present volume unfortunately does not contain a paper on the revenue system under the Sultāns, whose revenue department was practically staffed by the Hindus. Undoubtedly some Sultāns introduced changes, but if the nature and extent of those changes can be worked out, it may be possible to trace the basic foundation on which those changes operated, and that foundation

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may be scrutinized to find out whether it may reveal the latest strata of the ancient Indian system.

At present, we are working mostly on Kauṭilya and Manu who can be roughly assigned to the c. 4th and the 2nd centuries B.C. respectively. We need not discuss whether their recommendations were valid till about A.D. 1200, but the possibility has been studied more or less exhaustively and time has probably come for exploring some other avenue. For example, is it possible to affirm that the Munda land system, admirably described by Dr. Singh, existed in this part of the country during the ancient period, and survived the Sultanate and the Mughal periods? An affirmative answer may open a new chapter in the history of ancient India.

We now turn to another aspect with some diffidence for it involves us personally. Dr. B. P. Mazumdar has criticized us (p. 25) for having suggested that certain terms were used in certain inscriptions to make the gift valid. Dr. Mazumdar's observations are not without logic, but he overlooks the reasons cited for our conclusion, one of which was that the Maratha grants contain almost the same phrase, and the British Indian courts had decided that this phrase, conferred on the grantee ownership in the soil itself, and the absence of the phrase might indicate that the grant was of the royal share of the revenue and not of the soil.

This raises two questions; firstly, the possibility of reconciling ancient Indian sysem with later systems, particularly in the regions where Hindu rule prevailed, such as Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and South India in general; and secondly, the importance of legal interpretation of Dharmaśāstra texts. In ancient India the Dharmaṣāstras were interpreted according to the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation, which was admitted by the British Indian High Courts, though the Courts also relied on the Act of Interpretation, 1888. Though the High Courts were mainly concerned with adoption and inheritance, still a study of the High Court and the Privy Council decisions would show the analytical methods adopted by trained legal minds in interpreting the ancient texts. The Dharmaśāstras were written by experts and modern lawyers had no difficulty in understanding their acute legal acumen. For

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example Sir William Jone's eulogy on Kulluka: 'At length appeared Culluca Bhatta, who, after a painful course of study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern.'

We have digressed from the main topic to illustrate the point, that the Dharmaśāstras and the land-grants, may also be studied from the legal angle and the opinion of High Court judges be taken into consideration by the historians.

A. K. MAJUMDAR.

THE INDIAN THEOGONY, by Sukumari Bhattacharji, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pages 363.

In the words of the author, "this book is the result of ten years work on the subject of the historical development of Indian Mythology", from the vedic to the epic-puranic period. An effort has also been made here to establish its relation with contemporary mythologies of Greco-Roman and Persian world and those connected with Jewish and Christian religions. The study of this development has been divided into three periods: (1) "the Indo-European (2) the vedic-Brahmanical and (3) the epic-Puranic". While this periodisation of the history of Indian mythology is proposed in the introduction to the book, the main text is divided along mythological god-groups. The god-group selected for study are: (1) the Śiva group (2) the Viṣṇu group and (3) the Brahma group. The selection of the god-groups is purposive and the three selected groups are supposed to converge historically into the "Neo-Brahmanical Triad" of the epic-Puranic period—the Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva triad. The periodisation referred to above, therefore, is considered within each god-group. In the study of each of these god-groups either different forms of the same deity or several deities with similar characteristics are treated in a manner such that the group historically converges into its respective component deity of the triad. Actually the

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whole book can be seen as a process of formation of the Puranic Triad of Brahman, Viṣṇu & Śiva. The formation of the Triad, according to the author, occured through three different processes: (i) through the disappearance of some of the Indo-European, Vedic—Brahmanical gods from the pantheon like Vāyu, Uṣas, Saritṛ, Soma, Surya, Mātaraśvin etc. (ii) through the changing characteristics of some of the vedic gods like that of Yama, Viṣṇu, Rudra etc. and (iii) finally through the initiation of the non-Aryan gods into the pantheon. It may be mentioned here that the non-Aryan gods and goddesses had been no doubt subdued by the Aryan supremacy initially, but were admitted into the pantheon with increasing assimilation of the non-Aryan cultural groups into the Aryan fold and the resultant inter-marriage. This process seems to have occurred both in the sphere of mythology as well as society and economy. Each of the god-groups is shown to be subjected to these processes. Even while the basis of this classification is clear, dissimilar gods in terms of their characteristics have been included in the same group e.g. Varuṇa a solar god is placed in the Śiva group, who is a lunar god.

The author sees this process of formulation of the triad as a struggle for existence among the gods. She maintains that only those gods could only survive the struggle who had maximum adaptability with the changing environment. The survival of the fittest occured in two ways: one by changing their vedic character and the other by syncretism with regional and tutelary gods, presumably the non-Aryan gods, which were already in existence and were being worshipped. The author believes that in this struggle for existence only those gods which were 'minor' during the Ṛg vedic period could survive. The reason was that as they were not fully formed in terms of their characteristics, the 'minor' gods alone possessed maximum adaptability. It was easier for them to acquire new characteristics, suitable to new socio-economic environment; when observed in this light, "only Viṣṇu and Rudra fulfilled these conditions, they were suitably vague and indistinct with few or no definite achievements to their credit, so as to allow new feats to be ascribed to them". The Brahman, on the other hand never had a sectarian religion developed round him, and all through these periods, remained largely an abstract deity. This being so the theory of the survival of the fittest god

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does not or rather loosely applies to the Brahman group. Nevertheless, the historical transformation of Viṣṇu, Rudra and Brahman group of gods led to a pantheon in the Gupta era which, "received universal recognition". The author describes in great detail the rise of Śiva and Viṣṇu to power during the Puranic period from their 'minor' position during the Ṛgvedic period. This is the brief summary of the main thesis of this book. Before we make some observations on this thesis, it is worth while to review the methodology employed in this book.

This book is largely based upon the literary sources. The chronological authenticity of these sources is still a matter of controversy among the historians. For example, besides the fact that we come across lots of interpolated passages in the Mahabharata and Ramayana, their dates are also uncertain. In view of this uncertainty, objective study of mythology cannot be done without supplementing the literary sources with epigraphic, numismatic and other archaeological finds. Besides these, in a historical study of Mythology, ethnographic material cannot be ignored. In contrast the author makes little use of these non-literary sources. Inspite of the fact that she claims to follow the methodology of Leri Strauss, she excludes ethnography as a source for the study of Indian Mythology because she wrongly believes that, 'it is extremely doubtful whether it (ethnography) can yield any concrete or plausible results". Perhaps this negative approach to ethnography arises out of her belief that ethnography is restricted to the study of racial elements only.

She seems to believe that Indian histriographic attempts in the field of mythology are next to nothing. This belief is indeed false. As a result of this mis-belief she uses extensively the western material and ignores to take into account the work of Indian historians to mention only a few like that of D. D. Kosambi (Myth and Reality), D. P. Chattopadhyay (Lokayata) etc. In fact reading this book one gets a feeling that it is addressed to western rather than Indian historians.

Apart from the weakness of the source materials used, the methodology of the book is also open to criticism. After the selection of different god-groups the author describes their characteristics from the early vedic to epic-puranic period in great

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detail. But she does not raise the question: Why—the question of causation of a particular development in Indian mythology. So far mythology is a psychic or ideological manifestation of socio-economic conditions, its history cannot be understood without correlating it with the history of the latter.

Although in the introduction to the book the author mentions about this type of relationship, she rather coolly give it up subsequently. The purpose of historical analysis is little served by description of facts alone. At times she does imply that a change from pastoral to agrarian society necessitates a change in the characteristics of a particular god-groups. But the problem of how a change in the material conditions introduces a change in mythology has not been explored. The theory of struggle for existence among gods is meaningless unless it is related with the more basic struggle among men in the social and economic spheres.

The author maintains that the Aryans worshipped 'ideas' and subsequently gods acquired more anthropomorphic characteristics. This suggests a line of development which is contrary to the generally held view that the development is from more anthropomorphic to less anthropomorphic gods. Perhaps in future when archaeological finds will come to the aid of the literary sources used in this book, the author may have to modify her views. There is yet another contradiction which needs to be solved. While the author believes that historically the number of gods in the pantheon increased, she also believes in the 'convergence' of the pantheon into the triad. Simultaneous expansion of the pantheon and also its 'convergence' is obviously impossible. Perhaps what she means is that the pantheon increased in its anthorpomorphic form but converged into an abstract triad. But this line of development is again inconsistent with her earlier belief that change occured from abstract to anthropomorphic gods during the period under consideration.

Inspite of these analytical weaknesses, this book is a welcome addition to the history of Indian mythology. Its style of writing is abstruse with a good deal of semantics in it. Nevertheless a student of Indian mythology cannot miss this book.

PRABHA SHARMA

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, New Delhi, January 4–10, 1964, Vol. III, Part II, edited by R. N. Dandekar, published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970; 9″ × 13¼″ pp. 525–896 (i.e. 372) with a few plates; price Rs. 50.00.

The twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists had its session in New Delhi in January, 1964. Most Indian scholars who formerly had only an idea about the sessions of such bodies as the All-India Oriental Conference, had this time the opportunity of gathering experience of an International Conference, even though the pattern was more or less similar.

The volume under review consists of some of the papers presented at Subsections D-'History and Culture', and E-'Modern Indian Languages and Linguistics', both pertaining to Section VI—'Indology'. The Chairman of Section VI—D was Prof. A. L. Basham, London, and that of Section VI—E Prof. Hermann Berger, Heidelberg. Vol. III, Part I, published from Poona in 1969, likewise consists of select papers belonging to Subsections A (Vedic Studies and Indus Civilization), B (Classical Sanskrit) and C (Religion and Philosophy) of the same Section (VI—Indology). Vol. I (containing information about the Congress and its Delhi Session, lists of papers and members, etc.) and Vol. II (containing select papers presented at Sections I—'Egyptology', II-A—'Babylonian Studies', II-B—'Hebraic Studies', III—'Hittite and Caucasian Studies', IV—'Altaic Studies including Turcology', and V—Iranian Studies') were published from New Delhi respectively in 1966 and 1969.

Altogether 103 papers were submitted to Section VI—D (History and Culture), out of which 49 have been included in the volume under review. The 24 papers which could not be read owing either to the absence of the authors or to the option given to them to read only one of their papers have been generally omitted. It is of some interest that, among the other papers considered unsuitable for publication, a few are from the pen of people who are high in the academic life of India. Of course it cannot be said that the published papers are all of a very high standard, even though some of them are quite interesting. How-

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ever, selection of papers for section—IV E (Modern Indian Language and Linguistics) has been even stricter, because, out of 79 papers received, 54 were read and only 18 of them have been published.

There are many views advanced in the papers which we find difficult to accept; e.g. the ascription of the date of Hippalus to the 1st century B.C. or earlier (p. 532), the *mahattaras* referred to in the land grants were residents of the gift villages (pp. 618–19; we have *rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara, vīthi-mahattara,* etc.), the discovery of the true arch in the palace of the early kings of Kauśāmbī (pp. 754ff; the arch seems to us to belong to a date later than the Muslim occupation of the region), etc.

A paper similar to the one appearing at pp. 578–87 was published long ago in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 1939, Calcutta, pp. 66–71 ('India as described by an Unknown Arab Geographer of the Tenth Century' by Ram Kumar Chaube). Another fact that may be mentioned in this connection is that a number of papers appearing in the volume have already been published in various periodicals.

The printing of the volume is satisfactory. We have noticed only a few misprints, e.g., 'Vinai' for '*Vinaya*' (p. 546, line 26), 'Siad' for 'Sind' (p. 581, last line), 'Simhaviṣṇu, c.580–86 A.D.' for 'Simhavarman, c. 580–86 A.D. (p. 699; possibly not a misprint, but a slip of the author), etc.

D. C. SIRCAR

COLLIDING GENERATIONS, by F. Van Ree, Navachethana Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 301. Price Rs. 36.

This book is the English translation of the author's earlier work of the same title in the Dutch language. He has added to this Indian edition, three chapters by way of introduction. He has also introduced in several places in the text indications to Indian circumstances. The advices contained in the final chapters are also aimed at India.

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Youth in revolt has become a universal phenomenon in recent times and in many societies, this has manifested itself in the form of student protest movements. Many reasons have been attributed to the rise of student power—the enormous growth of population in recent times (the so-called population explosion) resulting in an absolute increase in the number of young people, early maturation of children which reduces the lower age of youths, and increasing educational opportunities which attract more children to school—all these make the youngsters a powerful factor in society. Dr. Van Ree has studied the problem of the youth-in-revolt from the social psychiatric point of view. The *Colliding Generations* is a study of children with behavioural disturbances in family surrounding and of revolting groups of youngsters in society. He divides revolting into two categories—psychopaths and sociopaths. Those individuals who have inadequate personality structure and who are, therefore, in conflict with the immediate surroundings (microsociety) belong to the group of psychopaths (formerly called hysteropsychopaths). People of the same type but struggling with rules and laws of society as a whole (microsociety) and not just their immediate surroundings are called sociopaths. The transition from psychopathy to sociopathy is as gradual as that from micro to macro-society.

The central idea is that in many of the revolting groups of youngsters, we cannot speak of purely unadaptable behaviour as is so frequently assumed. Such as opinion can only lead to punishment and drill. The problem has to be viewed from different angles—problem parents, problem children, difficult society, and difficult youngsters. The author has reviewed in detail, the literature on psychopathy and rejects the unicausal theories relating to this phenomenon. He argues that the problem has to be approached from different angles using both clinical and non-clinical approaches. He then examines the various aspects of sociopathy. Although the earlier subdivision into psychopathy and sociopathy can be useful, the author thinks that the main difference between the two categories is of a gradual and not an essential character. The rest of the discussion, accordingly, is confined largely to the symptoms, stages, and treatment of sociopathy. Here he speaks of a complex symptoms for a syndrome. The syndrome consists of six elements.

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(1) Contact disturbances in the strict sense, which can be sub-divided into poverty of relational feelings, paroxysmal emotional outbursts, theatricality and conscious defence against relation formation.

(2) Paranoia of the threatened. Paranoia is sometimes used as a synonym for insanity but generally means suspicion or distrust. The paranoid suspects everybody, especially those who are placed over them—such as parents, police authorities, doctors, and so on. If there is a group of such patients together, they will intensify suspicion in each other. A group of paranoid sociopaths induces a generalised paranoia in those who surround it.

(3) Developmental retardation manifesting in infantile characteristics (both physical and mental immaturity) and meagre inclination towards learning, possibly combined with more or less severe degree of mental deficiency.

(4) Anti-social tendencies characterised by verbal and/or physical aggression, possibly criminality and tendency towards addiction and/or perversions.

(5) Flight from reality including romancing, mendacity, confabulation, suicidal tendencies, tendencies towards dream states and need for intoxication, and

(6) Living in a now-and-here sphere without any real planning for the future. This is evidenced by a lack of capacity to postpone certain needs and too much strive towards immediate satisfaction.

Though sociopaths differ from one another in the possession of the above syndrome, they react in the same way if their social drive is not fulfilled. To escape this dissatisfaction, they will either create a world of their own or attempt to change the behaviour of the surrounding people. The first mechanism, viz., the creation of a replacing world might lead to an extreme form of autism (withdrawal from reality); the second, i.e., transforming the behaviour of the fellowmen, may be resorted to through affective outbursts, lies, intrigues, and theatricality.

Having described the sociopathic syndrome in detail, the author examines the causes of this syndrome. His extensive and

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varied experience as a psychiatrist has enabled him to describe and illustrate with case studies the various factors that contribute to this illness. Among them are separation from parents, hospitalism or harmful effects of institutionalisation, and late treatment, in addition to the general causes diagnosed by clinical doctors.

From the study of sociopathy as a mental illness which requires treatment mainly clinical but with a better understanding of the causes, the author proceeds to an explanation of the phenomenon of youth-in-revolt in the modern (macro) society. The increased communication between individual and society via the macro-society results in an intensification of the reciprocal process of influencing. As a result, treatment of the phenomenon must take into account not only the influences of the individual's immediate surroundings (micro-society) but also the macro-society—the total social and cultural constellation. The author makes a comparison between the behavioural phenomenon of certain groups of youngsters and the sociopathic symptoms described in the six-fold syndrome. There is also a resemblance between the opinion about and the behaviours towards the youngsters of many authorities on the one hand and the parents of sociopathy on the other. Both groups seem to be in a permanent conflict—the generation conflict—asking all the time for each other's attention and still rejecting each other. The author terms this reciprocal group absorption. The young individual preparing himself for life, does not find enough starting points in his society and not enough clearness. As a result, he is thrown back on himself. He grabs at the dynamical society, he is pushed back, grabs more intensively even in a spasmodic way. As a result of this, his behaviour threatens to become inefficient and the experience of short circuit creates more vehement discharge and flight phenomenon (paroxysmal emotional outburst and flight from reality). Also in this description there is a clear recognition of increased ambivalence; attraction and rejection and absence of the adult.

The author then suggests some remedies in the form of advices. He however makes a distinction between the treatment of the individual sociopath in micro-society and the youth in conflict with macro-society. He recommends individual psychotherapy for the former and social psychiatric method for the latter. "If we

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start treating the old generation or the youth-in-revolt, we start laying a blame on one side and in doing so, we increase *via action and reaction,* the conflict. The cause lies in the speed of development and the psychological differences between the old and young age. Therefore the conflict is world wide. Stage of development of the country concerned, social economic structure and *cultural pattern* give it its local colour. The *generation gap* becomes a conflict as result of *authoritarian conservative maintenance of power by the old generation and violent* non-constructive *iconoclasm of youngsters* against the traditional value ..... One method to try to decrease the tensions is adequate public information. Adequate information means explanation of mechanism of reciprocal group absorption, increased ambivalence and action-reaction processes. Explanations why it is wrong to look for the cause in one of the conflicting generations is also essential.

"Authorities should realise that drill can only increase the tensions just like pampering will do .... Giving the free rights of peaceful demonstrations will have a *neutralising* effect.

"More important however is the rapprochement in the quite intervals. There should not only be held seminars about youngsters and students but with students and other young people. The gap should be narrowed .... Actual *co-partnership* is necessary just like in individual cases, strict honesty towards the youngsters is necessary. Why tell the students in India, for instance, that they will have a bright future when everybody can see that in the actual situation it does not look like it at all. Giving false securities will only increase mistrust and aggression", pp. 286-87 (Author's emphasis).

The book is thus an attempt to analyse present day youth revolt movements in term of psychiatry. The author's rich experience with psychiatric patients—mainly sociopaths—makes him feel that the treatment should take into account the macro-social context of the illness. According to him many of the factors that give rise to individual sociopathic cases are also responsible for the group phenomenon of revolting youths and protesting students.

Dr. Van Ree has certainly done a good job in introducing an important, though not new, dimension in the analysis of con-

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temporary youth problems. His plea for a gestalt and sympathetic approach to the issue is quite appropriate and in the right direction. Though overloaded with technical terms, the book makes interesting reading.

P. K. B. NAYAR

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE MUGHALS, by Dr. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi. Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 182 + IV. 1970. Price Rs. 20.

This scholarly work dealing with the Mughal land revenue administration during the first half of the 18th century, when the empire was in a tottering condition and Akbar's excellent institutions had begun to deteriorate, is divided into five chapters plus a summary and a conclusion, and has five appendices, and an index. The learned author in discussing the village, the peasant, the zamindar and the land revenue administration on the basis of contemporary documents in Persian and English throws a good deal of fresh light on these intricate topics. He has critically examined the evidence and given many pertinent facts, which are not found in modern works on the subject. His conclusions are sound and convincing. One might not, however, agree with all his interpretations. For example, his meaning and description of *Dami* and *Satarhi* dues are not quite accurate. He says that these two items were collected and appropriated by the zamindar as his perquisites. Originally the *Dami* in kind was a charge on the entire produce field-wise, and was directly collected in lieu of his service by the *patwari*, and failing him by the revenue clerk (*kārinda*). Subsequently it began to be charged in cash at a fixed rate by the *patwari* or *Karinda* as the case might be. The zamindar had nothing to do with *dami*. There are a few other similar technical terms, known to active and experienced members of old hereditary qanungo families, the interpretations of which do not seem to be convincing. Nevertheless, Dr. Siddiqi has rendered a great service by publishing his valuable work on a very important subject and he deserves congratulations. The book is well-brought out, but the price of Rs. 20/- for a book of 176 reading pages is rather high.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

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INDEX TO THE FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT RECORDS: (Vol. II, 1781 to 1783); (National Archives of India, Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi–6, 1968. Pp. ix + 414. Price Rs. 28/–).

Appreciably momentous events had occurred in the time of Warren Hastings during his Governor–Generalship of the East India Company in India. His expansionist schemes led him to rub shoulders with a number of native rulers and foreign trading companies with the consequential increase in correspondences and transactions. The material connected with these is voluminous as it relates to a significant epoch in the programme of that Governor–General. Protracted dealings with Mysore, Marathas, the Raja of Banares, Asaf–ud–Daulah and foreign companies with recorded and secret correspondence have resulted in a vast source material much useful to research students of history. A good indexing of these facts has become a matter of dire necessity. It is in that context that the Indian Historical Records Commission stressed the need for preparing an exhaustive index and hence this volume, second in the series, covering the transactions of the years 1781 to 1783.

Indexing of records is no easy matter. The collating of facts under each head in an alphabetical order requires a special talent and judged by this standard this index is well–prepared. The entry especially under *'Madras Government'* (pages 227 to 236) is sufficiently long, comprehensive and carefully prepared. There is equal warrant to enlighten the reader in the foreign terminology, especially the Persian and Arabic terms widely used in the records to specify the then prevailing common features of political administrative machinery. This essential feature has been prepared and presented in pages 397 to 412. Its value to a student of the period cannot be over–estimated since a knowledge of these Persian and other words is a must in order to understand the spirit of the political and military transactions. The glossary is sure to be properly understood if diacritical marks are also used for the terms.

The bibliography at the end is a useful addition showing the names of the authors connected with the records and the publications to their credit. This publication is a very useful guide to the list of valuable political literature of India of the late 18th century.

K. K. PILLAY

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THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT (1556–1707), by Dr. U. N. Day, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi. Pp. 242 + XVI, 1970. Price Rs. 23.

The author writes in the Preface that his "aim is not to add one more text-book", but to give "a comprehensive account of the subject to create inquisitiveness among the readers to undertake intensive study of each single aspect." He tells his readers that he has utilised "*all the published works*" and "the original source-material has not been neglected" in the preparation of this book, and that in order to help "those who wish to make detailed study and undertake research," he has cited works containing "exhaustive bibliography" and utilised "*the fruits of all researches of all scholars.*" A perusal of the book, however, does not bear out the author's claims. It gives little evidence of the use of contemporary original sources, except here and there, and that too in a perfunctory manner, picking up the references contained in modern works. For example, he has not even referred to Dr. A. L. Srivastava's *Akbar the Great,* Vols. I and II, though these deal with this subject, particularly Vol. II which is exclusively a work on Mughal Administration, and were published in 1962 and 1967 respectively, long before the publication of the work under review. At places the author's observations amount to useless, verbose hair-splitting, and fail to enlighten the reader or add to his knowledge. He objects to the universally accepted designation of War of Succession given to the long and bloody content among Shahjahan's sons for their father's throne, and devotes one and a half pages, i.e. 520 words, in idle argumentation (pages XIII–XV). He says that the State under Akbar had remained Islamic in which God or Allah was not the creator and preserver of Musalmans only, but of all human beings. One might ask whether Akbar had not abolished Islam as the religion of the State and accorded equality of status to all religions, and whether it is not a contradiction to show the State had remained Islamic and yet there was no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. One feels that Dr. Day should have thrown light on this vexed problem. The author does not tell us how and in what way his *Mughal Government* is an improvement on Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* Ibn Hasan's *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire,* Dr. P. Saran's *Provincial Government*

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of the Mughals and Prof. Sri Ram Sharma's *Mughal Government and Administration.* Perhaps the learned author did not think it necessary to know the present state of our knowledge of the before writing his book.

There are a few mis-prints. On page ii 'sited' should be 'cited'. It is not clear as to why the author has used 1952 edition of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* and not the much-improved 1954 Edition. He does not seem to have seen the Second edition of Dr. K. R. Qanungo's *'Sher Shah'.* He has named some of the works in the bibliography without even seeing them or their title pages. For example, on page 246 he gives "Shyamal Das, Kaviraj, 2 Vols. (unpublished) Hindi." He does not know that the name of this book is *Vir Vinod,* that it is in 4 volumes, and that it is a published work. However, Dr. Day's book may benefit some students of Mughal history.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR, by S. C. Ray, (New Delhi, 1970):

Despite the strong political overtones with which the subject is surcharged today, Kashmir and its beautiful valley has, although through the ages, been an integral part of India, and of Indian history. And this not only on the political—but, and with greater emphasis, on the cultural, the religious and the social planes too. Owing to its geographical proximity, life in Kashmir was necessarily integrated with the Panjab and the Gangetic valley in India. What is much more significant is that, through the twilight regions of Kuchi and Khotan, the Valley had some impact on life in mainland China itself.

Dr. Ray's book, now in its second edition, was part of his doctoral thesis from Calcutta University nearly a cuple of decades ago. It has a certain merit insofar as his treatment does not go beyond the middle of the 14th century when the Valley, for the first time, experienced powerful Muslim incursions. What is even more satisfying is that the purely political part of his story occupies a relatively small place—a bare fourth—yielding to the richer, more important aspects of life: the economic, the social and the

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religious. There are chapters too on administration, Sanskrit literature, archaeological remains, coinage. One could scarce hope for a more comprehensive, a more meaningful, coverage.

Two minor points may be underlined. The first is an overdue stress on Kalhana's *Rajtarangani* as a principal source for all kinds of information. There is indeed barely a chapter, or sometimes even a page, where it does not dominate the foot-notes. Here it may only be fair to point out that Kalhana composed his work in the 12th century and that his forays into the early history and culture of the region could only be accepted with a considerable modicum of reserve—and then only if confirmed by independent evidence. There are also, and this despite the second edition (*revised*), a lot of misprints which a little care would doubtless have eliminated. The same holds true of the solidary, and extremely unsatisfactory, sketch-map, portraying the nondescript 'Ancient Kashmir'. Why not a few more recording the ebb and tide of political dominion?

These, however, are minor irritants. The major, as this reviewer sees it, is that the work is disjointed and, what is not uncommon in doctoral dissertations, does not read well. The prose is turgid, the style pedestrian. The Muse, and it is with a heavy heart one has to make this confession, has been reduced to a mere rattling of dead men's bones. From Dr. Ray's pages it does not come live and pulsating, but insipid, dead-beat, a bare chronicle.

PARSHOTAM MEHRA

HARṢA AND HIS TIMES, by Dr. Baijnath Sharma. Sushma Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970. Pp. XXXII+527. Price Rs. 75/-.

The author has made an exhaustive study of the materials bearing on the subject and the schematic discussion of the topics hardly leaves anything more to be desired. The first chapter gives us an account of the political background of his thesis, taking us through the phase of the dissolution of the Gupta empire and the emergence of new powers in northern India and Kaliṅga in the South. The author then relates the story about the family and heritage of Harṣa, his birth and early life. We are then in-

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troduced to Harṣa's accession to power and his wars and conquests. The following two chapters give us an account of the extent of Harṣa's empire and its administrative system. Chapter VIII introduces us to Harṣa's literary works and the literary circle at his court, while the following two chapters have been devoted to the study of contemporary society. A chapter, in two sections, covering nearly 50 pages, has been devoted to the study of contemporary religion and philosophy. Language and literature of seventh-century India, even as the state its education and learning, have come in for review in two chapters. The last two chapters deal with Art and economic life respectively. From the view-point of schematic arrangement of the topics, it would have perhaps been better if the last chapter dealing with economic life could have been placed immediately after the chapter on administration and the chapter on language and literature (chapter XII) was put immediately before or after chapter VIII which deals with literary subjects as described above. These are perhaps minor blemishes in a work of substantial character.

The author is conversant with the original sources and has generally shown critical approach to the subject of discussion. His discussion on the problem of Harṣa and Śaśāṅka could have been more dispassionate and he could have endorsed the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, against whom he has spoken so much, but who has stated in the very book from which he has quoted: "The discovery of fresh evidence alone can enable us to form a just picture of his career and a fair estimate of his character" (*History of Bengal* I, p. 68). The weakest part of his work is his chapter on the extent of Harṣa's empire. It may be readily admitted that Harṣa had the largest kingdom in northern India and that contemporary rulers of India considered him to be a paramount ruler in a general way, but the flamboyant testimony of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang are hardly sufficient to endorse the statement in south Indian records that he was "the lord of all North-India." It can not signify physical occupation of all North-India. It is generally agreed that he ruled over eastern Punjab and Uttarapradeṣa and his military activities led him to acquire, towards the later part of his reign Magadha, Orissa, Koṅgoda and possibly West Bengal. It is however difficult to prove satisfactorily that his authority also extended over Kashmir,

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western Punjab, Sindh, Gujerat, Rajputana, Nepal, eastern and northern Bengal and Kāmarūpa, although rulers of these places were generally within the sphere of Harsa's influence. His arguments in regard to the extent of Harsa's empire do not appear to be always sound. One can illustrate the typical nature of his argument from the case of Kashmir, for instance (pp. 189–93). He quotes *Harṣacarita* to state that Harṣa went to Kashmir "to see and worship" the teeth–relic of Buddha, but he ultimately 'exercised force, carried it off to pay it religious offering." No impartial observer basing his judgment on the norms of historical prudence can deduce from this statement, like our author, that Harṣa's sovereignty extended over Kashmir. Basing his views on this shaky foundation, he says (p. 212) that the dependencies of Kashmir like Punach and Rājapura "might have been under Harṣa's overlordship." This exaggerated idea of Harṣa's overlordship, in a physical sense, over almost the whole of northern India has led him to make the astounding statement (p. 217) that "the kingdoms and countries where the pilgrim (i.e. Hiuen Tsang) does not refer to the rulers or the ruling dynasties were, generally speaking, either directly governed by Harṣa or were within his sphere of influence." He has thus brought many kingless principalities within the orbit of Harṣa's empire (Vide, the cases of Udyāna p. 209; Bolor, p. 210; Sinhapura, p. 211; Urasa, p. 211; Tekka (?), p. 212; Kuluta, p. 213; Satadru, p. 214; Srughna, p. 215; Brahmapura, p. 215, etc., etc). There are many cases of this type. Regarding Brahmapura, for instance (p. 215) he says that "the problem of identification of Brahmapura is a knotty one," but he has not hesitated to state "Yuan Chwang does not refer to any ruler of this country, and, *it is almost certain* that the country *must have been under Harṣa's direct control*". In this way, one false promise has led to another. Another typical instance may be cited. Regarding Takṣaśilā, he tells us (p. 210), on the authority of Hiuen Tsang: "His (i.e. Hiuen Tsang's) reference to the dynasty being extinguished is important. It appears quite probable that Prabhākaravardhana *might have* come into clash with the king of Takṣaśilā and the latter *might have* been killed in the battle and *probably he left no issue*. Probhākaravardhana *might not have* got an opportunity to consolidate his gains, and therefore 'the chiefs were in a state of open feud.'

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But *with Harṣa's conquest of Kashmir the dependencies must* have *automatically* come under the zone of Harṣa's influence." Neither Prabhākaravardhana's clash with the ruler of Gāndhāra can be proved nor the annexation of Kashmir by Harṣa, so as to enable the author to make the assertion that Gāndhāra "automatically came" under Harṣa. History provides numerous cases of dependencies asserting independence when the mother-country or the suzerain is subjugated. Since the inclusion of Kashmir within Harsa's empire cannot be proved satisfactorily, the inclusion of its dependencies within Harsa's empire is sheer speculation. I do not wish to multiply instances of this type.

As soon as the author leaves this controversial field, he is at home with the data bearing on administration, the literary activities of Harṣa and contemporary writers, society, education and learning. The chapter on art and archaeology (pp. 469–476) is unfortunately extremely sketchy and could have been enriched by a study of the art and architecture flourishing during the reign of Harṣa in various places of northern India. The famous description of Hiuen Tsang about the Buddhist monasteries at the University of Nālandā have been altogether skipped over. The eighty-feet copper-image of Buddha seen by the Chinese pilgrim, as also the neighbouring image of Tārā, have been overlooked and no notice has been taken of the colassal bronzes of Nara, the reliefs and other sculptural objects found in site Nos. 1 & 2 at Nālandā. The brick temple of Lakṣmaṇa at Sirpur and the octagonal Muṇḍeśvarī temple in the vicinity of Bhabua have also received high praise from art-critics, but the absence of all reference to these beautiful objects of art from a work of 527 pages is really to be regretted. The section dealing with commercial relations with foreign countries in the chapter on economic life is mostly obsolete, as substantial research work has rendered many views, quoted by the author from R. K. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities,* published in 1912, invalid. Mr. Okakura was certainly wrong in making the absurd statement that "down to the days of the Mohammedan conquest the intrepid mariners of Bengal coast founded their colonies in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra and Cathay". There are too many works regarding East-West trade and navigation in the three zones of the Indian Ocean and the China Seas and India's role therein down the ages to be recapi-

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tulated here, but most of the basic texts written in Chinese, Greek, Latin, Persian and Arabic have been translated into English and/or French and could have been utilised by the author for the preparation of this chapter

These drawbacks and minor ones, not referred to here, do not detract from the value of the work as a whole. It has entailed stupendous labour, which is matched by a massive number of reference documents with which the author is familiar. One can readily agree with the remark of Dr. R. B. Pandey that the author's treatment of the political, administrative and social life and cultural aspects is more comprehensive than that of previous authors. I can warmly recommend this work to the serious attention of all students of ancient Indiian history.

H. B. SARKAR

COLOUR DECORATION IN MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE, by Dr. R. Nath, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Pvt. Ltd., Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay. Pp. 82 + XII, 1970. Price not given.

This is an excellent work dealing with colour decoration in Mughal buildings from the time of Akbar to the end of that of Shah Jahan. It discusses the subject under three main headings, viz. (i) glazed-tile decoration, (ii) mosaic, inlay and glass mosaic; and (iii) stucco and architectural painting. The book has a good bibliography, a glossary and an Index. It is enriched with numerous illustrations on art paper, which give a concrete visual view of the minute embellishments discussed by the author. The main theme of the learned author is the fact that the Mughal buildings and their decorative embellishments were not foreign in origin, but were the result of the evolution of the indigenous style, though inffuenced to some extent by Persian architecture. He disputes the theory of the Italian origin of Mughal inlay. He says that the presence of 'Orpheus and his Lute' in the Red Fort of Delhi, has wrongly led scholars to presume that it was *pietra dura* which was introduced in the Mughal decoration scheme by Florentine artists, led by one Austin or Augustin. Dr. Nath says that the above

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mentioned plaques of intensely black and green marble procurable only in Italy, came to India as finished articles for sale, and they were purchased by Shah Jahan and fixed up as inlays in his palace. Hence it is erroneous to hold that the Italian artists gave instructions in this new art to the Indian workmen.

Dr. Ram Nath has given concrete instances to show that this art, miscalled by its Italian name *Pietra dura*, had been in existence long before the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan in some of the Indian temples and other buildings. He rightly points out that the stone mosaic in India was channelled into two styles from an early age. One was the tessellated style "wherein square or rectangular pieces of stones of different colours were assembled and arranged together so as to form a pattern". The other was the inlaid style in which pieces of semi-precious stones were laid in sockets specially prepared in red sandstone or marble slabs. These two kinds of mosaic could be seen in the Asharfi Mahal at Mandu built in 1450 and in the tower of Victory at the same place. The earlier example of the mosaic of cornelian and agate is found in the Chaumukhi Jain temple at Ranpur in Sadri in Rajasthan, built about 1438. He rightly concludes that these 15th century examples of mosaic and inlay disprove the theory that the art was introduced by foreigners during the reign of Shah Jahan.

The author and the publishers deserve thanks for bringing out this scholarly work in a nicely printed and get up volume, illumined with many first-rate illustrations.

A. L. Srivastava

KUVALAYAMĀLĀ, Edited by Udyotanasūri, with Introduction, Indices, etc., and the *Kuvalayamālākathā* (in Sanskrit) of Ratnaprabhasūri, by Dr. A. N. Upadhye. Part II. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1970. Pages 136 + 191. Price Rs. 25.

The *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri is an important Jain Prakrit Campū completed on 21st March, A.D. 779 at Jhalor in Marwar (north Gujarat) in the time of King Vatsarāja of the Pratihāras. The author Udyotanasūri was the son of Vaṭeśvara and pupil of Haribhadra and Nemicandra, and had the title

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Dākṣiṇyacihna. The entire text is in Prakrit, but some passages are found here and there in Sanskrit, Apabhraṁśa, Paiśācī and in the contemporary mid-Indian, 'a sort of colloquial speech mixed with Sanskrit'. The contents are similar to those of the *Vāsudevahiṇḍi* and the *Samarāiccakahā* on the one hand and the popular *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya in Paiśācī, now lost, but represented by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* etc. on the other. The first part containing the critical edition of the Prakrit text was published in the Singhi Jain Series in 1959, and was received with great enthusiasm and praise by scholars throughout the world, and we are glad that the long awaited second part has now been published. This contains a detailed Introduction, and also the Sanskrit text of *Kuvalayamālākathā* of the 13th century A.D. by Ratnaprabhasūri, pupil of Paramānanda.

The critical Introduction is exhaustive and thorough, extending to 112 pages and discusses (1) the critical apparatus, and the mutual relation of the two available manuscripts. (2) Broad principles of text-constitution in the case of Prakrit texts, (3) A review of modern studies on the *Kuvalayamālā*, (4) A detailed study of the contents of the text, giving a summary of the narrative, (5) the religious, socio-cultural and educational conditions of the different parts of the country as reflected in the text and (6) a linguistic study of the text. A cultural note on the work prepared by the late Prof. V. S. Agarwala is appended to the Introduction.

Index to the verses in the Kuvalayamālā and critical and exegetical notes are also given in the end.

Prof. A. N. Upadhye is an eminent Indologist and a recognized authority on Prakrit Studies and Jainism, and has already published critical editions of numerous important Jain Prakrit texts, every one of which has won the praise of scholars and the gratitude of students; his critical edition of texts are usually taken as the models by students entering the research field of textual criticism and editing of texts. We are happy to see the successful completion of his critical edition of a major work like Udyotana's *Kuvalayamālā*.

DR. K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

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TARABAI KALIN KAGAD PATRE, Vol. II. Edited by Dr. A. G. Pawar, and published by Dr. Usha Ethāpé, Registrar, Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Pp. 336 + 52 + iii, 1970. Price Rs. 6.

The University of Kolhapur has rendered a great service by bringing out the second volume of the papers of the time of Tarabai. The first volume of this work was reviewed in a previous Volume of this journal. The present volume consists of 250 valuable papers covering the years 1721–1749, which form an eventful period in Maratha history. Most of the papers are valuable, and Nos. 19, 21, 113, 128, 132, 134 and 176 are very interesting and useful. Some of the above documents throw fresh light on the position and wealth of some of the Maratha Sardars during the early years of the 18th century. For example, No. 19, gives an account of the estate of Ram Chandra Pant Amatya. There was a controversy about the date of his death, which has now been finally settled by this document as having occurred before May 1728, and not between 1730–1737 as guessed by the historian Sardesai. The document No. 113 shows that in Kolhapur there were no separate *mohallas* for the Hindus and the Musalmans. The people lived in mixed wards.

Dr. Pawar has given a brief summary in English of all the papers indicating their important contents. This summary covers 52 pages. There is also a classified and helpful Index, and a list of Errata. The publication of this volume has made revision of Maratha history of this period necessary, for the documents given herein throw fresh light on the subject. It is a well–brought out volume, and is being offered at a nominal price of Rs. 6/–.

A. L. Srivastava

LABOUR IN ANCIENT INDIA, (From the Vedic Age up to the Gupta Period), by P. C. Jain, pp. xxvi + 276. Sterling Publishers Limited, New Delhi, 1971. Price Rs. 40.

The book does not deal with the Labour Problem as we understand it today. It is a somewhat discursive account of the socio–economic life in ancient India with special stress on the different occupations, crafts and industries followed by different

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categories of persons including hired labourers. The main topics dealt with are the social structure, agriculture, different types of craft and industry carried on by individuals of groups of persons organised in guilds, employment of slaves, wages of labourers, etc. There are many good books on all these topics and the author has not broken any new grounds, though he seems to be chary of acknowledging his debt to the works of his predecessors.

The author has the habit of empasising ordinary or very natural or normal state of things as something of great importauce discovered by him. Thus on p. 39 he refers to the *Dhammapada* commentary as making a "very interesting allusion to the ignorance of three princes about farming and the production of grain", and derives from it the very important conclusion about the "dependence of princes on hired labour", and he goes on citing evidence to show that "Similar was the condition of the plutocrats". The author makes many assumptions which are not likely to carry immediate conviction or meet with general approval without fresh arguments which he does not put forward. An illustration is afforded by his assumption, without evidence, that the Buddhist texts "reflect the society of the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C." (p. xviii). In discussing the dates of the *Dharmaśāstras* the author, while very prudently referring to the authority of P. V. Kane, accepts the dates formerly suggested by him in the older volumes of his monumental work, evidently Vol. II, published in 1941, cited by him in the Bibliography, but altogether ignores the dates given in the last Volume, namely Vol. V, Part II, published in 1962, which are materially different so far as the texts discussed by him on p. xix are concerned.

Far more serious are his statements which are opposed to views held by most authorities, but mentioned by him as obvious truths. A typical example is furnished by his very bold statement that not only was slavery unknown, but the "very idea of subservience, bordering on slavery was conspicuous by its absence" in the early Vedic Age (p. 145). He might have consulted at least the "*Vedic Index*" by Macdonell and Keith, p. 357, a book included in his bibliography. His very summary treatment of the meaning of the word *Dāsa* in the *Rigveda* in this connection shows a lack of critical judgment of which there is abundant evidence throughout

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the work. On the whole, the work cannot be regarded as a scholarly one, though it contains much useful information for which however, the author cannot claim any originality; for, as mentioned above the topics have been dealt with in a more scholarly manner by others before him. The printing and get-up are good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

INDIAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, by Dharampal, published by Impex India, Delhi, 1971, pp. xxv, + 282. Price Rs. 65.

This is a collection of seventeen articles, all written by European scholars in the eighteenth century, with the exception of the article on Hindu Algebra, written by Colebrooke in 1817. Recently attention has been drawn to a serious study of the Knowledge of the Hindus in positive sciences and this collection would be of great help in such a study. Six of these articles deal with Science—four on Astronomy and two on Mathematics (Hindu knowledge of the Binomial Theorem and Hindu Algebra). Apart from the general knowledge of Astronomy possessed by the Brahmins, discussed by J. Playfair, there are two papers on the Observatory at Banaras and another on the "Sixth Satellite of Saturn". Of the papers on Technology two deal with small pox inoculation (in Bengal and the East Indies), one each with the method of making the best mortar in East India, the process of making ice, and manufacture of paper, two on agriculture, two on iron works, and one on "Aspects of Technology in Western India".

All the articles are full of interesting information about the scientific studies and technology in India, as far as it was known in the eighteenth century. The paper and printing are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
2. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
3. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London
6. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
7. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
8. *Indian Review*, Madras.
9. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
10. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
11. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
14. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
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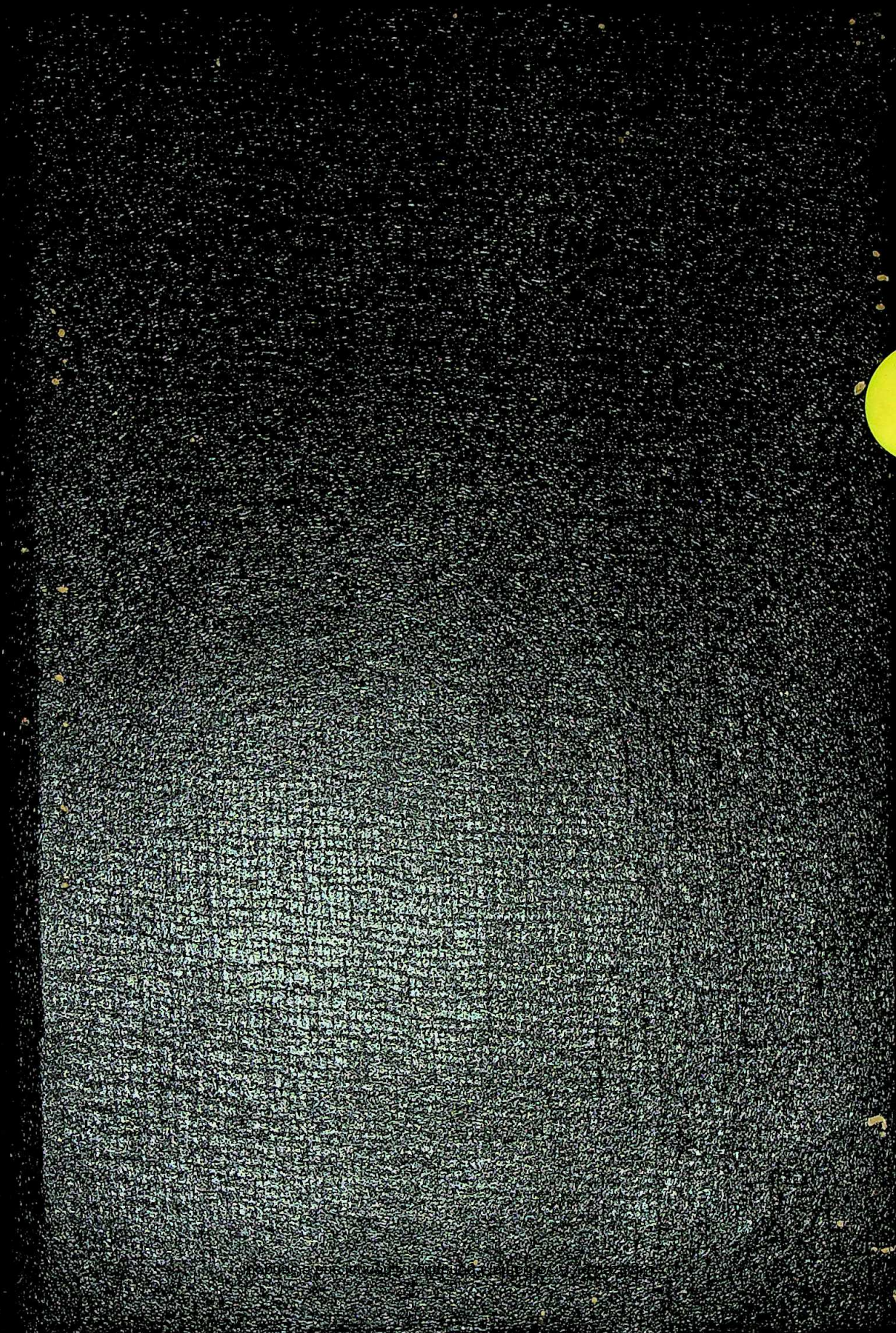
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